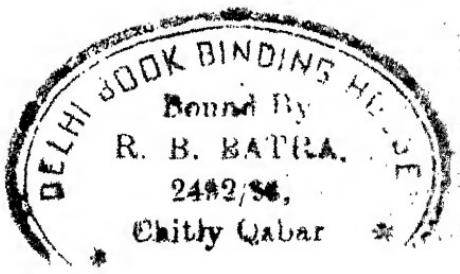


GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
DEPARTMENT OF ARCHAEOLOGY
**CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL
LIBRARY**

CALL No. 572.05 M.I.
Vol. 20

D.G.A. 79.



Bound By

R. B. BATRA

2482/56

Chitly Qabar



e, AL.
BR H C.

MAN In INDIA.

A Quarterly Record of Anthropological
Science with special Reference
to India.

Edited by

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M.A., B.L.



33425

VOL. XX.

572.05

M.I.

1940.

RANCHI.

PRINTED BY M. C. EKKA, AT THE G. E. L. CHURCH PRESS.
PUBLISHED BY THE MANAGER, THE "MAN IN INDIA" OFFICE,
18, CHURCH ROAD, RANCHI, B. N. H. Y.

(The names of Contributors are arranged alphabetically.)

Pages.

Original Articles :—

W. G. Archer, I. C. S.,

Notes on Two Uroan Marriages. ... 256-267

M. P. Buradkar, M. A.,

Totemism Among the Gonds. ... 114-143,
268-289

Dr. B. N. Datta, A. M., Dr. Phil,

An Enquiry into the Racial Elements in
Beluchistan, Afghanistan and the
Neighbouring Areas of the Hindukush. 1-43

Verrier Elwin,

I Married a Gond. ... 228-255

P. O. Reddy,

The Yanadis of the Madras Presidency. 44-55

Prof. B. K. Sarkar, Dr. h. c.,

The Society of the Poor and the Pariah. 144-177

Miscellaneous Articles :—

Rev. Dr. W. Koppers,

My Central Indian Expedition, 1938-39. 178-181

Prof. Dr. Walter Ruben,

The "Asur" tribe of Chota-Nagpur:
"Blacksmiths and Devils in India. 290-294**Anthropological Notes and News :—** 56-92, 182-184**Current Anthropological****Literature :—**

93-97, 185-188

Notices of Books :—

98-113, 189-227

MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. XX. } March & June, 1940. } Nos. 1 & 2.

I. AN ENQUIRY INTO THE RACIAL ELEMENTS IN BALUCHISTAN, AFGHANISTAN, AND THE NEIGHBOURING AREAS OF THE HINDUKUSH.

[Continued from Vol. XIX, page 273.]

By

BHUPENDRA NATH DATTA, A.M., DR Phil. (*Hamburg.*)

b. Comparison of the physical Characteristics.

When we look at the biometrical analysis here made, we find that in regard to the cephalic index the Bandijas have the highest index number, the Pathans of the N. W. Frontier Province, on the other hand the lowest number. The next lowest index number we find with the Loris. As regards variations-coefficients the Loris have the highest, the Balooches the lowest figure.

In the matter of the nasal index, the Chuttaloks have the lowest figure, the Panis on the other hand the highest. The Dewars have the highest figure in variations-coefficient which discloses the variability of race of this Eranian-speaking group ; while the lowest figure of variation-coefficient of the Kalandrani is a proof that in nasal form there is not as much difference within the tribe as with the others,

In the matter of bizygomatic breadth the Loris have the lowest index figure while the Sangurs have the highest figure in India. Regarding the variation-coefficients the Chuttaloks have the lowest, and the Dehwars the highest figure.

In the index tables it is to be seen that the variations in the cephalic indices are not so great as the nasal indices. It is further to be seen, that the lowest figures of cephalic indices come from the side of the Indian frontier which is the region of long skulls.

In Baluchistan, in the matter of cephalic index the Loris have the lowest figure. The long skull together with the Leptorrhiny, appears to me to be a proof of their Indian origin though today they speak Brahui. This is also strengthened by their own tradition that they came out of India as minstrels. From the index figures it is to be seen, that in the Indian frontier of Afghanistan the population is long-skulled and Leptorrhin as well as the Indian population of the Punjab (but the Aroras and Churas of the Punjab are Mesorrhins). In stature, they are above the average, the same is the case of some Punjab groups, which are "tall". In the matter of maximum bizygomatic breadth, the Pathans of the N. W. Frontier Province have the highest index figure of 135.3, while the Gujars in the Punjab have 134.2 and the Sikhs of that place have 133.2. In the Panjab the Aroras have 130.0 as the lowest figure in the matter of bizygomatic breadth, while as has already been said, the Pathans have the highest index figure. But we find the lowest figure of the bizygomatic index in the Loris of Baluchistan. We have also seen that with

all these groups the maximum bizygomatic breadth index stands in correlation with the head-breadth index.

Finally, it may be said, that the Afghans on the Indian side are similar to the inhabitants of the Panjab. In Baluchistan we find brachycephalic-leptorrhin elements, which in spite of their Indian language and in spite of their tradition of Indian descent do not show any somatic similarity with their Indian neighbours. Their racial affinity is to be sought elsewhere.

In the matter of correlation between stature and the cephalic index, we have already seen that a correlation between head-breadth and stature does exist. But there are a number of men with high stature and round heads.

The nasal and cephalic indices show that in many cases viz., with the Mir Jats, there is a tendency to correlation between a narrow nose and a broad head i.e., the narrower the nose, the broader is the head. This group is brachycephal-leptorrhin, and it can perhaps be maintained that these characteristics betray the features of the armenoid or the Asiatic affinity of the "Alpine" type. The same kind of phenomenon is noticed with the Wanechis, who are dolichoid-leptorrhins. The question is, to which racial element would they be counted? And again, we see the same kind of phenomenon with the Dewars who are brachycephal-leptorrhins. The following is an anomaly. With the Mengels the contrary is the case, viz., the broader the nose, the rounder is the head, and it is a brachycephal-leptorrhin group. And here we

must ask again : To which racial characteristic do these belong ? When the tendency to unite the broad nose with the round head is to be seen, then is it a characteristic of a central Asiatic race (Eranian or Turkish) ? In that case, this axiom must be applied to the Dehwars and not to the Mengels as at present.

F. Somatic Types.

Thus our analysis of the Racial elements in Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Hindukush is at an end. We have seen, that in spite of their proud genealogies, the inhabitants of this region are thoroughly heterogeneous in their origin. We have also seen that, as regards the Afghans of Afghanistan, the data in hand is very meagre for a real conclusion. From the data which we already have in hand, we may be certain that the dolichocephals as well as the mesocephals are represented there. In average the people are mesocephal-leptorrhins and in stature above the average. Therefore, I have classed them as belonging to the *dolichoid-leptorrhin* of *above the average stature group*.

Amongst the Pathans of Baluchistan the Wanehies are essentially dolichoid-leptorrhins, the Panis are on the contrary dolichoid-mesorrhins of above the average stature, the Makhianis are mesocephals, while the Achakzais, the Tarins and the Kakars are brachycephal-leptorrhins and of medium stature. In regard to the nasal form amongst the Afghans there is a fair degree of uniformity with the exception of the Panis who on the average are leptorrhins. And in reference to their stature it may be said, that they are on the average above the middle size.

In this way it is seen that the Afghans (Pathans) of Baluchistan betray the characteristics of different races, of which the most important are the dolichoid-leptorrhing, dolichoid-mesorrhins and brachycephal-leptorrhins. Here the dolichoid-leptorrhin element amongst the Pathans of Baluchistan is identical with the same element amongst the Pathans of Afghanistan. The Pathans (Afghans) of both the countries have these characteristics in common.

Among the tribes of the Hindukush as well as those who dwell in the eastern part of the Pamirs, viz., the Nagers, the Hunza, the Baltis &c,* we find also the same element, as well as amongst the Brahui-speaking Loris, the Jats of Sibi and amongst the Balooches of the Panjab.

Thus we see the dolichoid (dolicho-mesocephal)-leptorrhin element as a common racial peculiarity of many of the people of this region of Asia. I name this racial element "Biotype No. 1.

On the contrary the Mengels, the Brahui-speaking Kalandranis, the Mir Jats amongst the Jat-speaking group; the Chuttas, the Sanghars, the Bandijas of the Lasi group; the Achakzais, the Tarins, the

* Von Eickstedt in his article entitled "*The Races and Types of the Western and Central Himalayas*" in "*Man in India*" Vol. VI No. 4, 1926, states with Ujfalvy that the Nagers the Hunza and other Buriskis are of Dardic type.' Regarding the Baltis, Biasutti in his analysis has pointed out the great variability of type amongst them. There is a 'Short-headed and a tall dolichocephalic element.' Thus there is a tall dolichocephal-leptorrhin substratum amongst these groups.

Kakars amongst the Pathan group ; the Meds‡ and the Balooch speaking group have the brachycephalic-leptorrhiny characteristics in common. On this account I name this element "Biotype No. II."

Again, amongst the Hazarahs, the Eranian-speaking tribes of the Pamirs (the Mastujis, the Sarikolis, the Wakhis with the exception of the Faizabadis) the Sarawan-Brahuis, the Dewars, we find brachycephalic mesorrhiny as common racial characteristics. I name this type "Biotype No. III."

Here it is to be noticed that the above† mentioned tribes who have been put under the common combination of somatic characteristics, differ widely from each

† The Meds inspite of their present-day affinities are an old people living on the Indian soil. The *Manu Samhita* speaks on the *Med* as the mixed people of low origin who live on the outskirts of the villages (10-36). They along with some other mixed tribes of low Origin are also described as wild hunters (10-49). In *Yama Samhita*, the *Meda* along with the Kaivarta and the Bhilla are described as the degraded Castes (54). Again during the Arab invasion of Sindh in the Seventh century A.D. we find the Jats and the Meds of Multan welcoming Ben Kasim, as they said the former Brahmin ruler used to oppress them (vide S. Lane-poole—' Medieval India '). It seems the present day Meds must have connection with the Meds of antiquity. Their present day status, inspite of their of their conversion to Islam, points out their relation with the Meds of by-gone days. Again J. Hoskyn takes the *Med* tribe whom he calls as *Mer*, *Med* or *Mand* and the Gurjars as coming from Media and Georgia(Gurjistan) in 5th A.D. But this is a wild conjecture based on seeming resemblance of names and it lacks evidence, historical or otherwise. The present recension of *Manu* was supposed to have been written long before the date of migration alleged by Hoskyn (vide Kave, Jayaswal). Again, it has said beforehand that the *Mand* have been proved to be *Jat* (vide p. 250).

¶ J. Hoskyn—"The origin and Early History of the Mers of Merwara" in "*Indian Antiquary*" vol LI. 1922,

other in their other complexes. This is the case with the Mongolian-Hazarahs, the Dravidian-speaking Sarawan Brahuis, the Eranian Galtchas and others. Generally it is said, that the Galtchas and other Eranian-speaking tribes of the Pamirs are leptorrhins and have relationship with Lapouge's "Homo Alpinus." In going through the following table¹ of nasal indices as given by Ujfalvy and Stein and deduced by Joyce we see :

	Nasal index	Leptorrhin	Meso - Platyrhин
58 Galtchas		22.4%	60.3% 17.2%
28 Mastujis	72.54		
40 Sarikolis	71.95		
11 Wakhis	71.32		
22 Faizabadis	67.83		

Here we see that with the exception of Faizabadis, all on the average are Mesorrhins ; and the Faizabadis who are leptorrhins "appear to be a mixture of all three groups, Pamir, Turki and Desart"². These Eranians agree with the "Homo Alpinus" type of Lapouge. It seems to be that much has been made of these "belated" (attarde) Galtchas and the other Eranians of this region. Based on these nasal indices and on the lack of proofs to the contrary, I am inclined to count them as belonging to "Biotype III."

¹ *Journal Anth-Institute Bk. 16.*

² Joyce in *J. A. I. Bk. 16 P. 468.*

³ Lapouge - 'L'Aryen,' p. 19 "Ce sont Ces Galtchas dans lesquels Topinard voyait des Savoyards attardés dans leur migration Vers ouest."

Besides these, there is a strong mesocephal-mesorrhin element amongst the Pani Pathans, the Balooches of Murri and Bagti Hills. This element is not so largely represented as the other types. But the presence of this element in Baluchistan cannot be overlooked when dolicho-and mesocephal-mesorrhin elements are to be found in India. On this ground I have named this element "Biotype No. IV."

As the number of subjects with other kinds of combinations of somatic characteristics is small, the view that arises in one's mind is that these are local "phenotypes" arising out of heterozygotic elements.

8. Racial characteristics of the peoples of neighbouring lands.

i. Persia.

After we have in this way found out the racial elements amongst the peoples of this region, we apply ourselves in finding their affinities amongst the peoples of the neighbouring lands. With this end in view I apply myself first to Persia, the population of which from the anthropological standpoint has been examined to a small degree.* The little work that has been done, has been collected by a Russian Anthropologist name N. K. Daniloff, who with the results of his own investigations has published them in book form entitled "Keharakteristika Anthropologischenskuch i Physiologik Scheskich Schert Somromonuedo Massederio Persun, Moskwa 1894" (characteristics of anthropological and physical peculiarities of the present-day population of Persia).

In this book, Daniloff gives a list of the investigators, the number of the subjects measured by them and their conclusions. In all, 561 subjects have been measured. Out of this total 185 are Kurds, 208 Ajarbaizanis, 168 Persians. In conclusion, Daniloff says, "The Persians are of stature *above the average* 167 c.m., found out of the measurements taken on 463 subjects. The heads are of medium size and of long-oval form. Out of the 861 measurements taken, the average cephalic index was found out to be 78.2 (maximum is 94, minimum 68); clearcut brachycephaly is relatively seldom found. The majority belong to the *meso-and dolichocephalic* groups. The face is long and oval, the nose medium sized, the eyes are tolerably large, the colour of the iris of the eye is brown or generally dark. The hair is wavy, with black or dark chestnut colour." But F. Houssay⁴ gives the nasal indices of the Persian tribe of Lori as 66.0.

Beside the above mentioned savants, Khanikoff⁵ measured some Persians, Kurds and Guebres and also 5 skulls of the latter. He has given the measurements of the average length (*longeur*) and breadth (*largeur*) in milimetres, out of this data I have deduced the following indices.

⁴ F. Houssay: "Les Races Humaines de la Perse" also in "Les Reuples actuels de la perse," in *Bulletin de la Societe d' Anthropologie de Lyon Tome 6*, 1887.

⁵ Khanikoff: "Mémoire de la Perse" and "Natural History of the Iranians."

* We are also awaiting the report from the Editor of *L'anthropologie* of Paris who has lately been to Persia to investigate the anthropoplogy of that country.

		Length	Breadth	Cep. Index.
1.	Guebre from Yezd	200	136	68.0
2.	„ „ „	198	138	69.69
3.	„ „ „	195	142	72.8

These subjects are dolichocephals. Futher he has also given us the measurements of 5 Persians from Ghilan and Mazendran, 5 Bakhtiaris and 5 Kurds. The cephalic indices of these are 84.1 ; 91 (90.6) ; 86.2. These subjects are brachycephals. Also Khanikoff has given us the measurements of 5 Guebre skulls that he brought out of Yezd and Kerman with him. The average index is 69.8 which shows them to be hyperdolichocephalic. Deniker gives us the average cephalic indices of his Persians as 78.04 which is mesocephalic. Prof. Gustave Fritsch⁶ gives the indices of 2 Guebre skulls that he brought with him out of the cemetery of Raghas to be 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ B. I. 779 ; 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ B. I. 778. These are also mesocephalic skulls.

For this reason it seems that, amongst the present day and ancient Guebres who have been the representatives of pre-islamic Persia, a dolichoid (dolicho-and mesocephal) element has been in existence; while amongst the mohammedan Persians, beside dolicho and mesocephal elements as reported by Daniloff, brachycephal element is also present as testified to by Khanikoff and Von Lushan.⁷

Beyond Persia lies Kurdistan - the country of the

⁶ G. Fritsch : "Bericht über einen Besuch auf der Ruinen des alten Raghas bei Teheran und Auf dem benachbarten Guebrekirchhof" "Zeitschrift für Ethnologie" Bk. VII 1875.

⁷ F. Von Lushan : "Early inhabitants of Western Asia."

Kurds about whom Luschan writes : "The western Kurds are dolichocephalic, with an average index of 75. and with more than 50% of fair adults."⁸ M. E. Chantre⁹ who in 1882 A.D. examined 158 Kurds from Persia, Mesopotamia, Armenia, and Asia Minor found them to have the average cephalic index of 81.42 and the average nasal index of 72-74. Thus his subjects on the average are brachycephal-mesorrhins. In his investigations between the years 1890-1894 the same savant found that amongst 332 kurds that he examined from fifteen localities of the Ararat region, the valley of Araxes, upper Mesopotamia Turkish-Armenia an average cephalic index of 78.53 and an average nasal index of 66.03 were shown. These characteristics mark them as dolichoid (mesocephal) and mesorrhins. De Chantre¹⁰ describes his subjects of the first as well as the second group to be overwhelmingly brunettes. In the district of Transkaukasus¹¹ alone he found his kurds to have an average cephalix of 78.33.

Also, the cephalic indices of the Kurds measured by Deniker¹² on the average are 78.5 and Iwanowsky gives the indices of his kurds from Transkaukasus to

⁸ Ibid : *Ibid.*

⁹ De Chantre : "Archives des Missions Scientifiques et... (une Mission Scientifique dans l'Asie occidentale et Specialement dans les régions de l'Ararat et du Caucase)" pp. 229-236.

¹⁰ Ditto : *Recherches Anthropologiques dans l'Asie occidentale (Missions Scientifiques en Transcaucasie) AsieMineure et Syrie* 1890-1894 ; pp. 103-111.

¹¹ Ibid : *Ibid* P. 111.

¹² Quoted by R. Martin : "Lehrbuch der Anthropologie."

be ♂ 77.6, ♀ 77.0.¹³ These indices betray mesocephalic character of the subjects.

Beyond Kurdistan in Western Asia, according to Lushan a hypsibrachycephalic type with the "Hethite nose" is dominant. This element is bracycephal-leptorrhin and is known as the "armenoid Type."¹⁴

In north Kaukasus, where to-day the brachycephalic character is dominant, the traces of a long-skulled race is to be found in the cemeteries of the old Ossetts. The present day Ossetts are supposed to be brachycephalic, but Nioradze¹⁵ says there are also dolichocephals amongst them. Chantre says "Les plus anciens, ceux de la ne'cropole du premier age du fer, au nombre de 6 ont un indice de 76.48, Les autres, au number de 9, sans date certaine, mais très probablement du moyen age donnent l'indice de 82.75." Here it seems that amongst the old Ossetts the long-skulled element was also present, of which Chantre further says "Les indices de cette catégorie ne sont comparables qu'à ceux de certains cranes persans et afghans dont les indices sont inférieurs à 78."¹⁶

We have thus so far found that in Western Asia from Afghanistan to Kurdistan the long-skulled element is present, and in ancient times this type was also to be found amongst the Ossetts of Kaukasus.

We have also seen that a brachycephal-leptorrhin

¹³ Ibid : *Ibid.*

¹⁴ Lushan—"Early inhabitants of Western Asia" and Voeker, *Rassen, Sprachen.*"

¹⁵ Nioradze—"Die Berg osseten und ihr Land."

¹⁶ Dechantre—"Archives der Missions Scientifiques et Litteraires Troisieme Serie" Tome X 1882, Pp. 237-240.

element is to be found in Western Asia, which is also to be met with in Baluchistan.

ii. Central Asia.

Now we apply ourselves to the anthropology of Central Asia where, according to general belief various races and tribes of brachycephalic character are to be found. In this matter, the Eranian-speaking and Turkish speaking races have the common characteristics.¹⁷

It seems, that apart from the differences of language, on the average, the brachycephal-mesorrhine element is prevalent in Central Asia. Still here and there the mesocephal-mesorrhine element shows itself, as we have already seen in the case of tribes of the Eastern Pamirs.

By going through the results of different investigation on Central Asiatic anthropology, one can say that amongst the ancient inhabitants of Central Asia *i.e.*, the old land of the Scythians that extended as far as Russia in Europe, long skulls and round skulls were both to be found.* Amongst the present-day

¹⁷ Bodganoff—“Notes Anthropometriques sur les indigenes du Turkestan” in L’ Anthropologie, Tom 2, 1891.

Ujfalvey—“Les Aryens Au Nord et Au Sud de l’Hindou-Koush” 1896.

Ujfalvy—“Aus dem Westlichen Himalaja” 1884.

Ripley—“Races of Europe.”

* The prehistoric city of Anau contained dolichocephalic infant skull and Sergi calls it as ‘Mediterranean; vide Sergi in Pampelly’s “Explorations in Turkestan,” also Dixon, who speaks of “the population of Turkistan in the late Neolithic or Bronze Age is that it

population the round skull is in undisputed majority, though the long skull is also present.

iii. India.

Next we turn to the anthropology of India. In this matter, in comparison with the immensity and manifoldness of the population, the anthropological investigation undertaken is small. Yet, out of what has already been achieved¹⁸ the following facts are to be culled. In India the dolichoid-mesorrhine element is predominant. Von Eickstedt¹⁹ says, "The average nasal indices given by Risley cannot be directly compared with that of ours of the present-day, it requires a reduction of 5 units in the case of the Indians of the North west." As the inaccuracy of Risley's nasal measurements is said to have been shown now with the new system, we may find a larger number of leptorrhines present amongst the Indian population.

In order to compare with the races and tribes of Baluchistan and Afghanistan with some of the Indian castes, I have worked out the following analysis from Risley's data²⁰

was....primarily dolichocephalic." But he also speaks of the invasion of the brachycephalic element from the east in this region from first millennium B.C. ('Racial History of Man' pp. 329-330).

¹⁸ H. Klaatsch—'Morphologische Studien Zur Rassen-Diagnostik der Turfan-Schädel'; Berlin 1913.

G. Nagy—"The Nationality of the Scyths."

¹⁹ See Works of Risley, Thurston, Ramaprasad Chanda, Emil Schmidt, Turner, V. Eickstedt &c.

²⁰ V. Eickstedt—"Rassenelemente der Sikh" in Zeitschrift fuer Ethnologie, Bk. IV-V 1920-21 P. 365.

Cephalic indices-percentage.

Caste	locality	Cep Index	Dolicho-	Meso-	Brachycephal-
80 Sikh	Panjab	72.7 (69)	86.25% (10)	125% (1)	1.25%
27 Arora	"	72.6 (17)	62.96% (10)	37.03%	0
80 Chura	"	73.4 (66)	82.5% (13)	16.25% (1)	1.25%
100 Chatri	N.W.P (U.P.)	73.0 (81)	81.0% (17)	17.0% (2)	2.0%
100 Brahmins	Bengal	78.7 (19)	19.0% (52)	52.0% (29)	29%
67 Chandals	"	78.1 (17)	25.37% (32)	47.76% (18)	26.86%

Nasal index percentage.

Caste	Locality	Nasal Index	Lepto	Meso	Chamaerrhin
80 Sikh	Panjab	69.8 (47)	58.75% (20)	40.0% (1)	1.65%
27 Arora	"	71.2 (7)	25.92% (20)	74.07%	0
80 Chura	"	75.2 (11)	13.75% (65)	81.25% (4)	5.0%
100 Chatri	N. W. P. (U. P.)	77.7 (9)	9.0% (70)	70.0% (21)	21.0%
100 Brahmins	Bengal	70.4 (42)	42.0% (55)	55.0% (3)	3.0%
67 Chandals		73.9 (19)	28.25% (40)	59.70% (8)	11.94%

I have taken the Brahmins of Bengal as specimens of an upper caste from the extreme east of the country, and have found that, out of 100 subjects 40 are dolichoid (dolicho and mesocephal)-mesorrhins, 29 are dolichoid-leptorrhins, 15 brachy-mesorrhins, 13 brachy-leptorrhins and 3 are Chamoerrhins. Thus we see that the largest group here is *dolichoid-mesorrhin*, the next largest is *dolichoid-leptorrhin*.

Among the Panjab group, we see that with the Sikhs the *dolichoid-leptorrhin* element, with Aroras the *dolichoid-(dolicho)-mesorrhin* element, with the

Churas again the *dolichoid* (*dolicho*)-mesorrhine is strongly represented. With the Chatis of the United Provinces the *dolichoid* (*dolicho*)-mesorrhine element is in the majority. Among the Brahmins and Chandals of Bengal the *dolichoid* (*mesocephal*)-mesorrhine element is strongly represented.

Thus it appears that, in India the *dolichoid* (*dolicho-and mesocephal*)-mesorrhine element is on the average the strongest element, while we have seen, the brachycephal-leptorrhine and dolichocephal-leptorrhine elements are not so strongly represented. This *dolichoid-mesorrhine* racial element agrees with our already known Biotype No. IV.

Thus it seems, in the north as well as in the South of India, the *dolicho-mesocephal-mesorrhine* element is the largest or the dominant one.

9. Summary.

We have thus found that in the region of Asia in question, there are four important biotypes in existence. We have also seen, that neither religion nor language nor tradition and proud geneology gives us a clue to the origin of these racial types which cannot find place in the sociological phenomena of that region. We have also found that the so-called races and tribes as well as the members of the strongly exclusive religious-polities are heterogeneous in their racial composition. They consist of different biotypes, and of phenotypes arising out of the intermixtures amongst themselves. In this matter, the law of mendelism has not yet been applied to the anthropological research

for finding races and types of this place. For this reason we do not possess any exact information about them. With the help of the data at hand, I have culled the following types, which, until definite information is received, I, for the present, name biotypes. Now, we shall see how far we can trace these biotypes.

In the hypotheses which I venture to advance, I find four biotypes, of which I have already named the first one as biotype No. I which is dolichoid *i.e.*, dolicho-and mesocephal-leptorrhin, of stature above the average. This type is to be found in Baluchistan, Afghanistan, the Hindukush, the Pamirs, in India and, as I think, also in Persia. Perhaps it is also to be found amongst the long-skulled element beyond the latter region.

Biotype No. II, which is of brachycephal-leptorrhin characteristics, is very strong or perhaps the strongest element²¹ that is prevalent in Western Asia, *i.e.*, in Turkey, and is therefore called the "Armenoid-type." In Baluchistan, also, this type is to be met with frequently. Some are of the opinion that the case is the same in Persia also, though Daniloff has come to the conclusion that a clear brachycephaly is relatively seldom found there.

This type is also to be met with in Afghanistan, the bent or hooked ("Armenoid") nasal forms that are to be seen frequently among the Afghans, has given rise to the impression that the Afghans are of Jewish extraction; I have been informed by some travellers

²¹ V. Luschan—*Huxley Memorial Lectures*.

that the Ghilzais who for the most part live around Candahar have "Jewish noses." This misnomer has been made because Armenoid or West-Asiatic characteristics have been so long miscalled the "Jewish type" by laymen.

As some of the Pathan (Afghan) tribes who live in Baluchistan are brachycephal-leptorrhins, I think that the biotype No. II is also to be found amongst the Afghans. Further, so far can be seen from the indices, the brachycephal-leptorrhin element is not strongly represented in Central Asia ; yet the presence of this type, as found amongst the Faizabadi group and with 22.4% of leptorrhins amongst the Galtchas, cannot be denied.

In India, this element is to be found even far into the East in Bengal, where its presence amongst the Brāhmans has already been mentioned. This may sound strange to the ears of many, but a careful observer will find persons all over India with "Armenoid" characteristics.*

It may be that this element exists in India in a very scattered form, yet it is present, as is testified to by the analysis of Risley's one hundred Brāhmans of Bengal of whom 13% are brachycephal-leptorrhins. The Indian anthropologist Chanda²² thinks the same

* Vide Marshall—"Mohenjo-daro and Indus Valley Civilization;" B. S. Guha—"Census of India"—1931. vol I Part III; Haddon—*Races of Man*.

²² R. Chanda—"The Indo-Aryans." Chanda has used the old nomenclature "Alpine" for this West-Asiatic type. It is nowadays called the "Armenoid" type which is the Asiatic equivalent of the former name. See Von Lushan. Huxley "*Memorial Lectures*."

to be the case, *viz*: in India, the so-called "Armenoid" element is present.

Biotype No. III—the brachycephal-mesorrhine²³—element is to be found in Baluchistan, also amongst the Hazarabs of Afghanistan, the Iranian groups of the Pamirs and the Turkish tribes. It is most strongly represented in that stretch of land which extends from Baluchistan to Central Asia.

Biotype No. IV is represented by the dolicho-mesocephal-mesorrhine element. It is very strongly represented in India and is to be found also in Baluchistan. It is also present in Persia. Daniloff's Persians are dolicho-mesocephals with middle-sized noses. Do they belong to the same type?

10. The Origin of the Biotypes.

So far, we have followed the Biotypes and their dispersions; now we will try to find out their origins and affinities. We have seen that we shall have to deal essentially with four biotypes. Now the question arises, which order of succession the origins and the historical appearance of these biotypes follow in the series.

I have advanced the hypothesis that the Biotype No. IV is the oldest in this country. We find the further dispersion of this type in India, Baluchistan and beyond. This type is generally of dark colour,

²³ In connection with the racial composition of the Hindukush tribes, Guha says, "There may also be a more primitive ancient layer of short-headed but mesorrhinic population, as Biasutti thinks; but I am inclined to the view that the undoubtedly Mongolian strain present in these tribes is responsible for mesorrhiny."

with shades ranging from complete dark to light brown, and has cymotrichous hair.

In India, this type is to be found in the North as well as in the South. We do not know where to draw a line of demarcation between the peoples of both linguistic groups in India. A division on the basis of the colour of the skin cannot be made, as the two extremes are to be met with in both the regions.

Without entering into minute criticism of Indian anthropology, I have advanced the hypothesis that the traces of the biotype No. IV are to be found in India, it makes no difference which language it speaks there; it is also to be found outside India. I think it is met with in Persia²⁴ as well.

This long-skulled-mesorrhine type was not confined to India and, with traces left in Baluchistan and Persia, it must have been in contact with other people.

If the line of racial connections from Gibraltar to Australia put up by Von Luschan be recognised, then it will appear that this type is a link of the said chain.*

I think, biotype IV is the oldest in Baluchistan, India and elsewhere. The next element is the dolicho-mesocephal-leptorrhine type or our biotype No. I. I think this element is the next oldest in this region. We have followed it from the Western border of Per-

²⁴ See Ripley, photographs in "Races of Europe" pp. 448-449. Eickstedt speaks of the presence of the "Weddoid" race in South Persia, and not of the Negrito *vide* "Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte" Pp. 311-312.

* Recent discoveries at the Indus Valley show that there were anthropological connections between this region and West Asia, *vide* Marshall—"Mohenjo-daro and Indus Valley Civilization."

sia (perhaps also in Caucasus amongst ancient Ossettes) to Bengal. From the anthropological data we have in hand, we have seen that it is to be found in the strongest number in east Afghanistan, in Hindukush and partly in the Punjab. We know as yet very little regarding the anthropology of Persia and some of Risley's measurements according to Von Eickstedt are not correct; further the former has not dealt with all the castes; therefore we are not yet in a position to say in which proportion this biotype is to be found in Persia and in India proper. Still we have seen that this element is to be found in Persia, India, Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the Pamirs. This is the type, I think, that has been named by Deniker, the "Indo-Afghan" type and is of brown complexion. There is a tendency to connect this type with the dolichocephal-leptorrhin element of Europe. The common Indo-European languages extant amongst both the groups have lent further colour to this hypothesis. The colour of the skin of this type varies from brunette to dark-brown, and there is not a single case mentioned where the presence of a blonde element has been noticed amongst these Asiatic peoples. Attempts have been made to find the trace of a blonde element in the Vedas; some think the Vedic people were blonde and had affinities with the North-European element, others call them simply "white." Both parties have ransacked Sanskrit and Indo-European philology to prove their hypotheses. But without entering into the much-disputed "Aryan controversy," I found on going through the Vedas, only one sentence (Sukta II, C. Sloka 18) which speaks of white-skinned (*Sakhibhiih Switnyebhiih*) friends of Indra, which, ac-

cording to the interpretation of the Indian commentator Sayana, means the “heavenly friends of the god Indra.” Further, the Rig-Veda (Sukta XLVI) speaks of the “Sun-rays-hair” of Agni (fire) and Sukta LXXI of “gold-haired Agni||” which are only allegorical epithetaoruantia for the yellow-red flames of the sacrificial fire. These allegories have led a number of European scholars to believe that the Vedic† people were fair-haired and consequently blue-eyed people.²⁵ In Sanskrit Literature we do not find any proof of the white skin-colour of the Hindu gods and goddesses. Only Saraswati the goddess of learning as the emblem of purity is regarded as white. But this goddess is one of later development.

In this way the misunderstanding regarding the allegories and the attempt to take them as anthropological proofs have led to this mistaken notion.*

|| *The Atharva-Veda* (Bk VI. 137) speaks of black-hair on the head of a man. Further Sabara in his *Bhasya* on Jaimini quotes a Vedic text which speaks of the black-hair of the young Brahman (I. 33). This sentence has also been quoted in *Baudhayana Sruti* V 2-3-5.

† The same is alleged to have taken place in the case of Greek and Latin gods, goddesses and heroes ; See Sergi's complaint about it in his book called “*The Mediterranean Race*.”

²⁵ Zenaide Ragozin - “*Vedic India*.”

Samuel Johnson - “*Vedic India*.”

* In the White-Yajurveda, in *Satarudriya* Litany, the god Rudra is called “golden-armed” (16. 1f); and Sabita (sun-god) as “golden-handed”(1, 20, 34, 35). In the Rigveda Indra is called as “golden-coloured (hiranya-varna)” [5. 38]. Again in the same Veda he is described as “yellow-coloured” (haritovarnopeto) 3.44.4. He is also described as “bright (ujjal) haired” and “bright-bearded” (10-96, 8). Again he is described as having a yellow beard, and his horse is also of yellow colour (10. 96. 7). Thus Indra having yellow colour, yellow

Thus we do not find any proof of the origin of our biotype I in Indian Literature. As many have the tendency to compare it with the North-European type, we shall therefore investigate if we can find any data for the same in that region. This biotype is to be found there, where the Satem group of the Indo-European languages is spoken, and as the Lithuanian and the Russian languages belong to the Satem group, we shall see next what proofs are to be found in those countries.

The physical characteristics of the ancient inhabitants and races of the Baltic region are unknown. The most ancient remains of skulls that are found there belong to the neolithic age ; the round skull (in Kolljal) as well as the Long skull (in Woisek) have been found there²⁶. Thus, in the neolithic age both dolichocephalic and brachycephalic have been in existence. In other parts of the Satem land viz : in Russia, the oldest remains of skulls have been found in the Kur-gans, and these are long skulls. The question of the racial identity of the living possessors of these skulls is much disputed. On this account, we are not certain whether they are related to our biotype I. The Satem-speaking countries, therefore, do not throw much light on our investigations.

beard and riding on a yellow horse is only an example of the expression of poetical epithet. These descriptions of the Vedic gods do not justify their being classed as "Nordic."

²⁶ Richard Hausmann—"Uversicht Über die Archäologische Forschung in den ost Provinzen im letzten Jahrzehnt" Risga 1908 : Hausmann und Weinberg. "Sitz der Esten," 1903, 71, p. 7.

In making an investigation in North-Europe,* it does not seem that a pure dolichocephalic-element was present in this stretch of land. Virchow²⁷ has found the varying forms of skulls amongst the ancient population of the Germanic lands. Lissauer²⁸ finds a mixture of different forms amongst the ancient Prussian skulls. In Great Britain, Thurnam has found long skulls in "long barrows" and round skulls in "round barrows."

Here I wanted to show that in North-Europe two different racial types existed side by side. It would be, therefore, an incorrect hypothesis to say, that our biotype I originated in North-Europe because the remains of a long-skulled element of ancient times has been found there or that such an element exists there to-day.

With the above-mentioned data, it is to be seen that it is not possible to determine the origin of our biotype from North Europe on the basis of a distant language-relationship and the similarity of a few physical characteristics. We cannot say that our biotype I has got any relation with the Kurgan remains, at least no craniological comparison has been made as yet. For the same reason, we connect it with the compa-

²⁷ Virchow—"Zeitschrift fuer Ethnologie" BK. X.

²⁸ Lissauer—"Crania Prussica."

* After the world war it has been found out that since the Azilian-epoch (a period linking up the Palæolithic with Neolithic times) broad-skulled and long-skulled men were living in Europe as evinced by the discovery at Ofnet in 1925 and in a palæolithic deposit at Solutre a brachycephalic skull has been found. *vide* Keith—"Antiquity of Man," vol I, P. 110, (39 f. also *L'Anthropologie*." XXXV P. 189.)

ratively new Row grave remains²⁹ or with any of the New Stone age remains which represent various types.

It is true that from North-Europe to India traces of a long-skulled type amongst the dead and living peoples are to be found ; yet it does not mean much, as the dolichocephaly alone is not enough basis to prove a racial identity. Besides this, it is not known to us which other elements in which proportions were existing there.

Now, we shall consider the other side of the question whether the origin of our biotype I is to be found in North Europe in regard to the colour of the skin, and the iris of the eyes.

If the hypothesis be accepted that a people which spoke an Indo-European language and was blonde, long-skulled and leptorrhine migrated from North Europe to Asia, and has left behind it traces of its language, nasal and head forms, as evidence of its former presence amongst a brown or dark-skinned people, then the question arises at once, whether any other characteristics have been inherited according to the laws of Mendelism. This question must be dealt with from the standpoint of modern principles of heredity and hybridism. Already, E. Fischer, G and C. Davenport have been busy with the problem of hybridism and racial intermixtures between the Europeans and the blacks from Africa.

Without going into the details of these investigations it may be said here that according to Mendelian

²⁹ According to Karl Pearson :—“The Row graves contain a mixed population.” See *Phil. Transactions* : Vol. 185, p. 17.

laws physical characteristics are transmitted through heredity. With the intermixture of different races, a splitting-up process takes place, or, as V. Luschan says, an "Entmischung" takes place. Fischer and the Davenports have found out, that hair, skin-colour and the iris of the eyes in the same way "mendel."

If this law be applied in our case, then it must be said that in these regions of Asia the blonde element is not to be found. Individuals with light hair or blue eyes that are to be met here and there, are not to be taken into account. If a group of blonde North-Europeans have migrated to this region then, according to Mendelian laws, enough traces of blonde hair, blue eyes and lighter colour of the skin must be disclosed.

From Persia, where first our biotype I must be found, no report of the presence of a blonde element has been made as yet. The same is the case in India and Baluchistan.

T. A. Joyce, while working out the data of Sir Aurel Stein reports on the colour of the skin, hair and eyes of the Pamir peoples.

In his list two groups are to be found, in which I have recognised the biotypes I and III. The first is represented by the Kafirs, the Chitralis and the Dards; of these the Kafirs, and the Chitralis have an overwhelming number of people with skin of rosy color and dark-brown hair, while the greater part of the Dards have black hair, and the colour of the eyes of all these three groups taken together is "middle." Joyce counts here, blue as "light." From his list we can-

not determine what proportion of blue or other light-colour is represented.

Biotype III, which comprises here the Iranian-speaking groups, has for the most part a rosy complexion, with mostly dark-brown hair (with them "light" and "middle-coloured" hair is comparatively more frequent than with biotype I) and an overwhelming number of "middle-coloured" eyes. (The percentage of lighter colour amongst them is the same.)

Amongst Biotype I we find that the Kafirs have the highest percentage of light and middle-coloured hair and light eyes. According to the analysis of Joyce, the Kafirs seem to have the racial element of both his groups *viz.*, the so-called "*Homo Alpinus*" and "*Indo-Afghans*." He says : "In the Pamirs is a series of tribes, who though chiefly of Iranian-stock, begin to exhibit slight traces of Indo-Afghan blood. In at least one tribe, the Kafir, these traces are considerably more slight."³⁰

It seems therefore that the fair element amongst the Kafirs may come from another group which I call Biotype IV.

In his analysis of all these tribes, Joyce nowhere mentions the appearance of the North European blonde tribe in Central Asia. Von Luschan is emphatic that over 50% of the Western Kurds are blondes, and he believes that they are of North European origin. Further, he advances the hypothesis that about B.C. 1500, these Nordic people migrated towards India.³¹

³⁰ T. A. Joyce—*J. A. I.* Bk. 42, p. 467.

³¹ V. Luschan—*Huxley Memorial Lectures*.

If these Kurds were really the descendants of a northern migrating people, who in the high lands of Asia Minor have preserved their original type, then why do we not find the same phenomenon in the mountains of Afghanistan and the Hindukush?

It is said that a race of men of blonde type lives on the Kabyle mountains of Morocco. If there is a possibility of the blonde people surviving in that environment, there is no reason why the blonde type cannot survive in the Persian and Afghan mountains and in the Pamirs.

Against the hypothesis that the blonde element has been mixed with the indigenous dark or black races and has been assimilated by the latter, it is to be said that in such a hybridization a splitting-up process takes place. In this case, there would remain some homozygotes, as the original type cannot disappear. Whatever argument may be advanced for the disappearance of the blonde type in this region, if such an element had really penetrated into that region, surely they would have left enough traces behind them. Accepting the argument that the result of a hybridization in F 2, the homozygotic blonde type was recessive and gradually died out through the influence of the climate, yet there would be enough heterozygotic elements left which would again split up, and through atavism the blonde type would appear here and there. Here it is to be remembered that the land in question is not tropical which can be made responsible for the complete disappearance of the recessive blonde type.

Another argument may be raised that out of the hybridization a new race has originated which carries

the impression of the features of its Nordic ancestors and the skin-colour of its other ancestors. But such a hypothesis is not confirmed by the principles of hybridization. E Fischer³² says, that a mixed race does not originate out of a crossing.

If we want to find out the blonde element in India, then we must examine the Jat-Sikhs amongst whom we have found the biotype I, and who according to Risley are "pure Indo-Aryans." V. Eickstedt³³ in his examination of the Sikhs says, these peoples have light-brown complexion, black-brown hair, and dark-brown eyes. He does not speak of the trace of a blonde§ element amongst them.

Thus in the regions in question traces of a North European race has not been found so far. Only

³² E. Fischer—"Die Rehobothar Bastards" p. 224.

1. E. Von Eickstedt—"RassenKunde und Rassegeschichte der Menschheit" P 265 f; Haddon *Race of Man*.

2, 3. R. D. Dixon—"The Racial History of Man" Pp. 28-30, 484.

³³ E. V. Eickstedt—"Rassenelemente der Sikh" in Zeitschrift der Ethnologie" Heft 1920.

§ Nowadays a new hypothetical race from the steppes of South-West Siberia and Central Asia has been created by some of the post-war anthropologists, and it has been named as the "Proto-Nordic," or the "Caspian," races. Of course, this Proto-Nordic race is supposed to be blonde and has got the characteristics of the Nordics, while the supposed "Caspian race" contains the long-skulled element in them, and they had inherent in them a strong tendency towards blondness." It seems, seeing the difficulties with which the hypothesis of the North European origin of the Indo-Europeans is beset, this new hypothesis has been set up Jochelson's discovery of blue and grey eyes, and light-haired persons in West-Siberia, and the previous discoveries in the Central Asiatic tribes by Ujfalvy, Sir Aurel Stein, Schwartz etc., have supplied the anthropometric basis of the same hypothesis. But these tribes are not dominantly long-skulled.

in Asia Minor amongst the Kurds of V. Luschan there exists a blonde element. Can it not be the remnant of a wandering people in a comparatively recent period?

In this long discussion I have tried to show that the hypothesis of the origin of our biotype I from North Europe cannot be accepted so easily.* Yet, if any one draws a line from Sweden to Australia, he will find that the masses of long-skulled peoples fall on either side of this line.

Again, it is possible that without any migration from North Europe this type may have evolved in another place along the boundary of this line. Perhaps in the ascendant line of ancestors they have connection with the dolichoid-leptorrhins of North Europe; and if the hypothesis of Sergi be correct that the Mediterranean

* Later on, in 1926 in his article on "The Races and Types of the Western and Central Himalayas" in "*Man in India*" Vol. VI No. 4 October-December 1926, Dr. Von Eickstedt, says "Individuals with light-hair and eyes are even found so far as Hoshiarpur at Siwalik (Sikh No. 58; Von Eickstedt 1920: hair-Fischer No. 4-115; eyes Martin No. 8). The example of a stray case cannot lend support to the theory of Nordic origin of the Indo-Aryans. Eicks-
tedt himself tries to explain the origin of such sporadic appearance of blonde element in this way, "We know from the Chinese annals that indeed there were frequently blonde dolichocephalics among the Central Asiatic barbarians, as e.g. the Usun and Yue-chi. As some of these tribes, especially the Saka, poured down into Northern India, it is quite possible that these blondes are remnants of early waves of barbarian northerners. It may well be accepted that the blondes among the Usun (Haddon 1911, 16) and other peoples of Central Asia were the descendants of the old Chudes of Southern Trans-Bai-kalia" Pp. 258-259). Thus the theory of North-European or blonde origin of the Indo-Aryans cannot get support from him either.

race is related to the Row grave type, then we cannot say whether biotype I has affinity with the Nordic or with the South-European type. The dark-brown or the brunette colour of the skin and black hair-colour of biotype I would be in this matter a further testimony of the opinion that it may be related to the Mediterranean race. So far, we are not sure about it. In any case this type has existed in this region for a very long period, so that it has acquired the dark-brown or brunette skin-colour. For this reason, I think this type has appeared first in the history of Baluchistan, Afghanistan and the neighbourhood after biotype IV.

Our biotype II is brachycephal-leptorrhin. This element is strongly represented in Baluchistan, also amongst the Dravidian and Sanskrit-speaking as well as the Iranian-speaking tribes. Also in Afghanistan the "Armenoid" type appears which has given rise to the theory that the Afghans are of Jewish origin. This type is believed to exist in India also. It is known in Western Asia as the "Armenoid type." In our region in question, I think, this type is the third to appear in historical chronology, which began in ancient times and ended with the Baloch migration. The fact that this type is to be found amongst the Dravidian and Sanskrit-speaking tribes of Baluchistan, proves, according to my view, that in the order of succession it is younger than both the other types and have adopted above mentioned languages in their new home.

Biotype No. III is to be met with in Central Asia. It comprises Iranian and Turkish speaking tribes.

History tells us that the people representing these tribes have migrated to Afghanistan and further south within the historic period. We have learnt that the Khildjees (Ghilzais), Huns, Turks, Mongols and other people have overflowed this country and have settled there from the Buddhist age to the Islamic period of history. As this type has appeared first in Baluchistan in this historic period, I think it is to be the last to follow the historical chronology.

11. Conclusion.

The analysis of the Racial elements in Baluchistan, Afghanistan, and the Hindukush region is at an end. We have found that different races, one after another, have come to those regions and settled there ; and we have seen that all races and tribes of this region are heterogeneous in their compositions. Racial or tribal homogeneity is not to be found here ; rather on sociologic-political grounds different races and peoples have formed themselves into tribes.

The Afghan tribes who in their tribal organization based on blood relationship are supposed to be strongly exclusive and claim to be of pure blood with long unbroken family genealogies, have by this analysis been found to be a conglomeration of different racial types and peoples.

In Afghanistan, the basis of the present day "Afghans" may perhaps have been built out of the ancient Pactyac peoples. It seems, the Afgbans at first were composed of the Parapamisad-Indians and the tribes similar to the Indians, who later on assimilated Western viz., Armenianoid element into itself. In

the pre-Islamic period the invasions of the Scythians,‡ Yue-Chi and the Huns took place. These peoples by taking the Indian religion were assimilated to the already existing inhabitants of the land. The very large noses of some of the Afghans show the same nasal type as the Yue-Chis. The Afghans (Pathans), the Dards and the Kafirs have noses like that of birds of prey *viz*: aquiline nose, eagle nose and owl nose. These nasal forms are to be found in Afghanistan, Dar-distan and on the Pamirs. Also such form of noses is to be found amongst the Kurdish tribes of the Zagros mountains. They may also be found in Kashmir frequently and in the remainder of India amongst the Hindus of different castes. Some Afghans have bent, aquiline or Armenoid noses which have given rise to the theory that they are of "Jewish origin." But the so-called Armenoid type is more frequently to be met with amongst the inhabitants of Kashmir than amongst the Afghans. In the laws of Hindu Iconology the frequent occurrence of all these nasal forms has been acknowledged.

It may be mentioned here, that here and there blue or grey-eyed persons are to be found among the Afghans. This somatic characteristic comes perhaps from the light-haired, light-eyed element from the

‡ It seems the Baltis of Battistan are the remnants of the Scythian tribe called by Ptolemy *Balitai* or *Byltis*. (Ptolemy's "*Geography of India and Southern Asia*" translated by I. W. McGrindle in "*Indian Antiquary*," vol. XIII 1884, Oct). Haddon says, "The Baltis of Baltistan have been regarded as Indo-Afghans but they seem to be descendants of the Sacal; they are leucoderm leptorrhin dolichocephals. *Races of Man*, Pp. 114-115.

Pamirs and Central Asia described by Joyce amongst whom we have found our biotype III.

Further, in our analysis, we have found a certain percentage of Chamœrrhiny amongst some Baluchistan tribes not of Indian descent. It is strange that the Jats and other tribes of undisputed Indian descent of Baluchistan do not betray any Chamœrrhin element amongst them, while it is present in India proper; Again, Chamœrrhiny is to be found amongst the Pushtu-speaking (Afghans) and Iranian-speaking (Baluchis and Dehwar) tribes. Also the Iranian-speaking Galtchas show 17.2% Chamœrrhiny amongst them.

The "Baluchistan Census Report" speaks of the presence of the negro blood in that country which is accounted for by negro slaves. This fact may be made partly responsible for the presence of Chamœrrhiny in that country. But as the Galtchas of Central Asia and the non-Indian tribes of Baluchistan have also the Chamœrrhin element amongst them, it can perhaps be said that this element comes partly from Central Asia; while its presence in India proper is to be accounted for the Chamœrrhine type which is present there.

The stories of the Jewish origin of the Afghans and the Arab origin of the Baloochis and the Brahus are to be regarded as myths. We have seen that the Indians, the Tadjiks, the Parthians, the Central Asiatic and other races have played their roles in the composition of the Afghans. The Afghan race of the present-day is a conglomeration of these peoples. Socio-political factors have melted them together, the Pushtu language has become the bond of tribal union and Islam has given them a seeming unity. The same is the case with the races and tribes of Baluchistan.

Early History of Afghanistan.

35

Table I.
Cephalic Indices.

	Average M	Middle Error of average M.m	Standard Deviation S	Middle Error of MS MS	Coefficient of Variation V v	Middle Error of V mv
58 Lori	78.81	± 0.60811	± 4.6313	± 0.4300	5.8765	± 0.54562
59 Wanechi	79.27	, 0.50062	, 4.3062	, 0.39642	5.4323	, 0.50008
100 Jats	79.8	, 0.4064	, 4.064	, 0.28737	5.09	, 0.36012
100 Pani	80.1	, 0.29166	, 2.9166	, 0.20624	3.6413	, 0.25807
300 Dewar	80.99	, 0.21715	, 3.7612	, 0.15355	4.644	, 0.18959
48 Mir Jats	81.3	, 0.68789	, 4.7659	, 0.48642	5.862	, 0.6983
21 Kalandrani	82.0	, 0.6968	, 3.1931	, 0.49271	3.8938	, 0.60088

	Average M	Middle Error of average Mm	Standard Deviation O S	Middle Error of MS MS	Coefficient of Variation V	Middle Error of V mv
79 Med	81.9	± 0.4059	± 6.3049	± 0.28679	4.4017	± 0.35018
77 Mengel	82.81	, 0.43335	, 3.8026	, 0.30642	4.592	, 0.37004
33 Ohlutta Lok	85.1	, 0.59431	, 3.4141	, 0.42024	4.0118	, 0.49382
16 Sangar	86.38	, 0.8522	, 3.4091	, 0.60266	3.9466	, 0.69768
35 Bandija	86.98	, 0.53134	, 3.1434	, 0.37571	3.6139	, 0.43195
60 Baloch from Punjab	80.13	, 0.21729	, 1.6831	, 0.15365	2.1004	, 0.19174
80 Pathan from N. W. F. Ind	76.43	, 0.38889	, 3.4783	, 0.27499	4.551	, 0.35978
80 Sikhs from Punjab	72.62	, 0.32059	, 2.8674	, 0.22669	3.94	,

	Average M	Middle Error of average Mm	Standard Deviation S	Middle Error of MS MS	Coefficient of Variation V	Middle Error of V mv	±
80 Chura from Punjab	73.4	±0.29489	±2.6376	±			
27 Arora from Punjab	72.6	„ 0.75037	„	„	„	„	
100 Chattri from N. W. P.	73.0	„	„	„	„	„	
100 Bengal Brahmans	78.7	„	„	„	„	„	
67 Chandals from Bengal	78.1	„	„	„	„	„	

Table II.

Nasal Indices.

	Average M	Middle Error of average Mm	Standard Deviation S	Middle Error of S MS	Coefficient of Variation V	Middle Error of mv Mv
59 Lōri	61.62	±1.0288	±7.8354	±0.7275	12.714	±1.1994
59 Wānečhi	59.36	„ 0.90638	„ 6.962	„ 0.6409	11.728	„ 1.0944
100 Jāṭ	63.8	„ 0.7031	„ 7.031	„ 0.49722	11.02	„ 0.7886
100 Pāñi	73.42	„ 0.72222	„ 7.2222	„ 0.51069	9.837	„ 0.69558
300 Dehwar	70.26	„ 0.64653	„ 11.198	„ 0.45717	15.938	„ 0.6670
48 Mir Jats	62.1	„ 0.3853	„ 2.6696	„ 0.27246	4.2988	„ 0.43875
21 Kalandrani	61.0	„ 1.7309	„ 7.938	„ 1.2239	1.3003	„ 0.20065

Early History of Afghanistan.

39

	Average M	Middle Error of average M.M	Standard Deviation S	Middle Error of ms Ms	Coefficient of Variation V	Middle Error of mv Mv
79 Med	68.45	± 0.85466	± 7.5963	± 0.60433	11.098	± 0.89366
77 Mengel	59.85	„ 0.76153	„ 6.6823	„ 0.53848	11.165	„ 0.91086
33 Chhutalok	58.9	„ 0.10373	„ 5.959	„ 0.7335	10.117	„ 0.1258
16 Sangar	64.68	„ 0.12148	„ 4.8593	„ 0.85904	7.513	„ 1.3281
35 Bandija	59.029	„ 0.89626	„ 5.3022	„ 0.63374	8.9826	„ 1.0736
60 Baloch of Punjab	69.57	„ 0.24317	„ 1.8836	„ 0.17194	2.7074	„ 0.24716
80 Pathans of N. W. P.	68.62	„ 0.18798	„ 1.6286	„ 0.12858	2.372	„ 0.18752
80 Sikhs of Punjab	68.92	„ 0.42057	„ 3.761	„ 0.29739	3.154	„ 0.43128

	Average M	Middle Error of average Mm	Standard Deviation S	Middle Error of ms MS	Coefficient of Variation V	Middle Error of mv Mv
80 Chura of Punjab	76.23	± 0.67431	± 6.0311	± 0.47681	8.017	± 0.9338
27 Arora	71.25	, 0.95117	± 4.9424	, 0.6725	6.9369	, 0.8440
100 Chatri of N. W. P.	78.28	, 0.75938	, 7.5938	, 0.53698	9.6884	, 0.68508
100 Bengal Brahmans	70.72	, 0.91061	, 9.1064	, 0.64396	12.877	, 0.92553
67 Chandals from Bengal	73.9					

Table III.
Maximum Bizygomatic Breadth.

Average M	Middle Error of average Mm	Standard Deviation S	Middle Error of S Ms	Coefficient of Variation V	Middle Error of v mv
58 Lori	128.54	± 0.66039	± 5.0299	± 0.44698	3.9126 ± 0.36329
59 Wanechi	133.65	,, 0.73073	, 5.613	, 0.51672	4.1998 ,, 0.38663
200 Jats	131.45	,, 0.41861	, 4.181	, 0.29601	3.1857 ,, 0.22527
300 Dehwar	131.23	,, 0.48907	, 8.471	, 0.34583	6.45660 ,, 0.26359
48 Mir Jat	132.43	,, 0.68694	, 4.7592	, 0.48574	3.5938 ,, 0.36679
21 Kalandrani	132.14	,, 0.99082	, 4.5406	, 0.70063	3.4362 ,, 0.53022
79 Med	132.59	,, 0.47362	, 3.8477	, 0.3349	2.9019 ,, 0.25259

Man in India.

Average M	Middle Error of average Mm	Standard Deviation S	Middle Error of S MS	Coefficient of Variation V	Middle Error of v mv
77 Mengel	132.56	<u>±</u> 0.5703	<u>±</u> 5.0042	<u>±</u> 0.40326	3.7751 <u>±</u> 0.30421
33 Ohhota Lok	132.18	, 0.54895	, 3.1634	, 0.38816	2.8857 , 0.29366
16 Sangar	134.75	, 0.8753	, 3.5042	, 0.61894	2.5983 , 0.45932
35 Bandija	133.52	, 0.67265	, 3.9795	, 0.47563	4.7236 , 0.56457
S t a t u r e .					
100 Pani	167.99	<u>±</u> 0.57676	<u>±</u> 5.7676	<u>±</u> 0.40784	3.434 <u>±</u> 0.24278
200 Dehwar	164.48	, 0.3975	, 5.625	, 0.28109	3.4177 , 0.1708
F a c i a l I n d i c e s .					
100 Pani	114.82	<u>±</u> 0.48726	<u>±</u> 4.8728	<u>±</u> 0.34456	4.2438 <u>±</u> 0.30009
200 Dehwar	114.39	, 0.5139	, 7.2676	, 0.3633	6.3533 , 0.31766

Errata.

1. p. 175.—Read “*Chaher Eimaks*” for “Choher Eimoks.”
2. p. 179.—Read the ‘*Hidhus*’ or the inhabitants of the Sindhu Valley for ‘Hindus.’
3. p. 182 footnote.—Read ‘*Gorband*’ for ‘Gubon.’
4. „ Read the ‘auxilliaries of the *Turk*’ for ‘Turkuz.’
5. p. 186—footnote.—Read ‘*Xalac*’ for ‘Xalae.’
6. p. 186—Read ‘*Ibu Hawkal*’ for ‘Hanqad.’
7. p. 186.—Read ‘*Xolac*’ for ‘Xolae.’
8. p. 186.—Read ‘*Mufatih al Ulum*’ for ‘Elum.’

—:-:0:-:—

$$\frac{6}{\text{Mean}} \times 100$$

Co-efficient of Variation.

	All Castes N = 190	Hindu N = 124	Scheduled Castes N = 32	Manual labourers N = 67	Non-manual labourers N = 123	Aborigines N = 14	Muslims N = 20
Stature	3.7221	3.7067	3.3204	3.3022	3.9224	3.2367	2.8174
Arm Length	6.0901	6.2819	5.1969	7.1934	5.4204	5.5271	5.9049
Hand Length	6.0729	6.3506	5.5873	6.6330	5.7470	5.1509	4.2336
Hand Index	6.0739	6.0078	7.0608	5.7047	6.2661	4.0576	5.5090
Head Breadth	5.2936	5.5696	4.5952	3.8705	5.9401	3.3802	5.6374
		S. E. of	C. V.				
Stature	±0.1912	±0.2356	±0.4154	±0.2857	±0.2504	±0.6124	±0.4461
Arm Length	±0.3136	±0.4046	±0.6513	±0.5758	±0.3466	±1.0480	±0.9374
Hand Length	±0.3127	±0.4046	±0.7005	±0.4947	±0.3677	±0.9763	±0.6661
Hand Index	±0.3127	±0.3827	±0.8169	±0.4947	±0.4010	±0.7683	±0.8741
Hand Breadth	±0.2724	±0.3545	±0.5755	±0.3350	±0.3800	±0.6397	±0.8946

N. B. [This Table was through inadvertence omitted in the first instalment of this article. Its page number should be 404, and it should come after page 40 of the January-March number (1939).]

II. THE YANADIS OF THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

By

P. C. Reddy, (*Lucknow University.*)

The Yanadis are a backward tribe spread over the Telugu-speaking area of the Madras Presidency. A few of them are also found in the Telugu Districts of the Nizam's Dominions. The Nellore District of the Madras Presidency, which singly holds about half the total population of Yanadis, is the stronghold of Yanadi culture and traditions.

Ethnologically and culturally, the Yanadis are closely akin to the Hill-Chenchus.

Numerically, the Yanadis are one of the most important "Criminal Tribes" of Southern India, and stand foremost in Andhra.

Etymology :—The word 'Yanadi' has been the subject of much etymological speculation. According to the rules of Telugu Grammar, the word 'Yanadi' is incorrect. It does not mean anything. Hence it has been argued that it must be 'Enadi' and not 'Yanadi' and that the word 'Enadi' might have been corrupted into 'Yanadi' in the course of long and constant usage. Lexicographers like Sitharama Sastry and Sanlaranarayana refer to the 'Enadis' as a 'low jungle-tribe.'

It is suggested that the word 'Enadi' or 'Yanadi' might have been derived from the word 'Anadi' i.e.,

'without a beginning, or primitive.' That the Yanadis are a people of hoary antiquity no one can seriously question.

Also, it has been speculated, that the word 'Yanadi' might have been derived from the word 'Yanadamu,' by which the lexicographers Brown and Sitharama Charlu understand 'sea-beach.' But it is to be noted that the Yanadis, according to tradition and history, are associated with the forest but not sea-coast. So the word 'Yanadi' could not have been derived from 'Yanadamu.' It is also to be noted that the lexicographers do not derive the word 'Yanadi' from 'Yanadamu.' Again, it is suggested that the word 'Yanadi' might have been derived from 'Yanam,' which means a 'boat.' For the reason given above, this suggestion, too, cannot be accepted.

The accidental similarity of the terms cannot be considered sufficient ground to establish any relation between 'Yanadi' and 'Yanam,' and 'Yanadi' and 'Yanadamu.' Hence, such suggestions may be dismissed as being nothing more than mere guesses at some plausible explanation.

Some derive 'Yanadi' or 'Enadi' from 'Anatha' or 'Anathalu,' which means helpless, destitute, orphan or unprotected people. This seems to be the most rational and sensible of all the interpretations given to the word, 'Yanadi.' It is supported by both mythological as well as historical evidence.*

Origin:—The origin of the Yanadis is a standing riddle in the Ethnology and History of Southern India.

* For the mythological evidence, please see the *Appendix*.

Their origin is a mystery; their social customs are unique and their daily life is regulated by a code founded on principles as to what is right or proper or decent, which are peculiarly their own.

Their own traditions about their origin are very vague. There are neither inscriptions nor monuments which may throw light on their past history. Their archeology is a simple book of huts.

Whether the Yanadis belong to the Pre-Dravidian stock, is a problem which should be discussed critically and without, of course, any risk of doctrinairism; for, "Ethnology," as Kroeber has so well put it, "like every branch of science, is work, and not a game in which lucky guesses score."

Topinard, describing the Hindu type, placed the Yanadis among the remnants of the black strata of the population of the Indian Peninsula. The remnants of the black strata, he says, "are at the present time shut up in the mountains of Central India under the name of Bhils, Mahirs, Ghonds, and Khonds; and in the South under that of Yanadis, Maravers, Kurumbas, Veddahas etc."* He thinks that the Yanadis can be said to bear a striking resemblance to some smooth-haired black tribes particularly the Somalis, but not Negroes.

Dr. Maclean places them among the hill tribes of the plains called Tamulian.

The Editor of the *Baptist Mission Review*, commenting on the highly speculative theory that the Yanadis are not merely exotics but immigrants from

* *Caste and Race in India..* By Prof. G. S. Ghurye.

some island or continent who were shipwrecked and stranded on the Nellore Coast, suggests a probable connection between the Yanadis of Southern India and the Yanans of North California. But the shipwreck theory is supported neither by tradition nor history.

Ethnic resemblance is suggested between the 'aboriginal tribes' in Southern and Western Australia and the Dravidian fishermen on the Coromandal coast of India on the authority of Bishop Caldwell's "Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages." But there still exists considerable doubt as to whether the 'primitives' of Australia took their origin on the spot, with the characters that we admit as belonging to them, or whether they are a hybrid race, and, in that case, of what elements the race is composed.

It has been also suggested, that Sreeharikota might have been the original home of the Yanadis. It is a small island in the Pulicat Lake in the Andhra Coasts. The word 'Yanadmmu,' which means sea-beach, is interpreted as lending support to the theory that the Yanadis must have been a people who lived on the sea-coast. If by the 'sea-beach' or 'the Sreeharikota theory,' it is meant to convey that all the Yanadis living in the mainland must have come there some day or other from the island, it is a proposition which cannot be accepted. But, if Sreeharikota is said to be the original home of the Yanadis, only in the sense of being an important historical home for a section of the Yanadis, it can be readily endorsed.

Dr. Shrott describes their type of features as being Mongolian, but calls them 'aborigines.' To call

the Yanadis, with Dr. Shortt, 'aborigines,' simply means that their origin is unknown and that that the state of their civilisation is lower than that of their neighbours. The question of the racial origin and affiliation of the Yanadis is not easy to decide and the many hypotheses about their origin and distribution indicate the complexity of the problem. Most of the theories about their origin can not stand scrutiny. It is to be regretted that considerations of space do not permit an elaborate discussion of the various theories.

It is generally agreed that the jungle folks of Southern India represent the Pre-Dravidian type. The characteristic representatives of this type are also found in Western India, in the hilly country of Central India, in Rajputana and the United Provinces, every where penetrating like a wedge. Such a distribution makes it probable that these peoples were the first occupants or at least the earliest known occupants of Southern India. Being pressed by later immigrants they seem to have taken to the hills and jungles or again managed to become low members of the social polity of the immigrants. The immigrants who pressed upon them were, perhaps, the people of the Dravidian type* and it is possible, as Dr. B. S. Guha has pointed out in the Indian *Census Report* of 1931, Vol. II, Part III, the latter people have been considerably moulded in their turn by infiltrations of the aboriginal element.

There is much difference of opinion among ethnologists and historians as to who were the autochthones of India. Whether the Dravidian-speaking tribes

* Keane, P. 422.

were the original inhabitants of India or not is regarded by some as till now an open question. To call the Yanadis or, as a matter of fact, all the jungle tribes of Southern India, Pre-Dravidians, may perhaps be a hasty generalisation.

The terms 'Dravidian' and 'Pre-Dravidian' are mere will-o'-the-wisp. We feel that the more we study them, the less we know of them. That they are problematic and debatable, there can be no two opinions.

About the race origins of the Pre-Dravidians, no two scholars of repute seem to agree with each other. There are those who merely agree that they might have been the autochthones of India. But there are others, who go farther ahead into the misty field of race origins. The Pre-Dravidians have been connected with different races. Some authorities connect these people with the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula and the Australians. Dr. Guha, like a few ethnologists before him, has noted a Negro strain in a few of them Goffrida-Ruggeri's Pre-Dravidian type consists of Austroloid-Veddaic ethnic elements. Risley's classification has been long discredited.

The problem whether the Yanadis are Pre-Dravidians or Dravidians or exotic immigrants into Sreeharikota and the mainland is very difficult to decide one way or the other. It is not important too for our purpose. Whatever may have been the race origins of Yanadis, whatever may have been their original home, this can be said without any fear of contradiction, that the Yanadis are closely akin to the Chenchus, ethni-

cally and culturally and that they might have been evolved from the same ethnic stock, whatever that might have been. In their physical make-up, the Yanadis and the Chenchus present a general resemblance to the other forest and hill-tribes of Southern India.

The tradition of the Yanadis as to their origin is very vague. The people have no tribal traditions and there is nothing in their language or religion to indicate their descent. Some call themselves the original inhabitants of the wilds in the neighbourhood of the Pulicat Lake. The proposition that the original home of all Yanadis is Sreeharikota cannot be endorsed, though the premise that the Yanadis were once a forest tribe may be reasonably supported. There are many survivals in the culture-trait of Yanadis which furnish ample evidence to prove the fact that they were a forest-tribe. Their worship of "Chenchu Devudu," who is the God of the Chenchus also, their marriage customs such as the 'Abhijillanga' or the mid-day 'Muhurtam' and the habit of firing an arrow or a stick at the Sun to denote the time, which are also in vogue among the Chenchus and the existence of a class of Yanadis known as Adavi or forest Yanadis and the close resemblance between the customs and habits of the Adavi Yanadis and the Forest and Hill Chenchus, all go to support the theory that Yanadis were a forest tribe, who migrated into the plains. Even to-day the custom of using 'Bandedaku' (*Hymenodictyon Excelsum*) as 'Bhashikam' (the ceremonial emblem tied on the fore-head of the bride and the bridegroom) and 'Tangedupuvvu' as *Thali*, among some Adavi Yanadis who do not actually live in forests, points clearly to survivals of a forest civilisa-

tion. In some places Yanadis call themselves "Chenchu Yanadulu," while in some other places, Chenchus are called by the name of "Yanadi Chenchulu." The Chenchus themselves call the Yanadis as 'Vura Chenchulu' or the village Chenchus.

The Chenchu tradition and mythology strongly support the theory that the Yanadis and the Chenchus belong to the same ethnic stock and that the Yanadis came away from the hills and settled in the plains. A manuscript of the 17th Century makes a reference to the Yanadis and speaks of them as being a forest tribe. +

The next problem that confronts us is whether Shreeharikota was the original home of all the Yanadis. The Yanadi tradition as to their origin is vague and especially it is so among the Yanadis in the coastal districts. Some believe, though very vaguely, that they were the original inhabitants of Sreehari-kota. Others believe they came into the plains from the forests and hills in the interior. But all these can be counted on one's fingers. As a people, the Yanadis have no tribal traditions.

Frederick S. Nullaly, writing in the last quarter of the last century, observes that the Yanadi tradition as to their origin is that they were the "aborigines of the wilds in the vicinity of the Pulicat Lake, where they fished and hunted at will till they became enslaved by the Reddies."*

Again, the nature of the distribution of the Yanadis throughout the length and breadth of Andhra, does not

+ Madras Government Museum *Bulletin*, Vol. IV. No. 2.

* *Notes on the Criminal Classes in the Madras Presidency.*

suggest their distribution from one source, namely, from Sreeharikota, which is more or less isolated from the mainland. The Yanadi population in the island not only unfavourably compares with the population of Yanadis in the mainland at any time, during historical times, but what is more important, that its effective birth rate is too low and the incidence of diseases is too high, to suggest the possibility of any contribution of numbers to the mainland and which may imply the wholesale immigration of the vast number of Yanadis in the mainland. While the Yanadis of Sreeharikota numbered 463 in 1865, the Yanadis in the Nellore District itself numbered 20,000 in the same year. In 1835, the Yanadis in Sreeharikota were only 199. The tribe has at all events increased in 30 years nearly by 150 per cent. The figures for 1862 disclose an increase of 114 persons over the figures for the previous year. Some eighty Yanadis are said to have immigrated from the mainland. Otherwise, such an increase cannot be explained reasonably.

If Sreeharikota be regarded to be the original home of Yanadis in the sense that some coastal Yanadis might have migrated from there into the interior or in the sense that for some years it was their refuge or strong hold, or in the sense that it was one of the headquarters of Yanadis for a long period, there is no need for any dispute. But, if it is meant, that all the Yanadis migrated from Sreeharikota, it cannot be accepted.

We have no documentary evidence about the past history of the island and its inhabitants. But, fortunately, there are a number of traditions and historical

accounts about the migration of Yanadis from the mainland into Sreeharikota.

According to one traditional account, the Nabobs of former days left the Yanadis in Sreeharikota as a sort of punishment. From which place were they asked to quit is not known. The truth of this is open to question. Whatever may be the truth of the legend, it is certain that the Yanadis and Sreeharikota were isolated in lots from the mainland until the second half of the last century. Even if the account is true, there is nothing which can warrant the conclusion that the Nabobs banished all the Yanadis from the Mainland to the Island.

The following legend concerning the Sreeharikota Yanadis is narrated by Mackenzie. "Of old, one Raghava brought with him sixty families from Pasharoti District, locating himself with them at Sreeharikota and clearing the country, formed Raghavapuram. The people by degrees spread through a few adjoining districts. A Rishi, who came from Benares and was named Ambikeswara resided in Madhyaranya (or the central wilderness), and there, after daily bathing in a river, paid homage to Siva. These wild people of their own accord daily brought him fruits and edibles, and placed them before him. At length, he inquired of them the reason. They replied that their country was infested by a terrible serpent, and they wished to be taught charms to destroy it as well as charms for other useful purposes. He taught them and then vanished away."

Also, tradition has it that when the Muhammadans made onslaughts on the Raddy Kingdom at

Kondavechu (a historic place in the modern Guntur District), the Pranghnati Reddis (Pasharoti Reddis) left their kingdom and settled in Sreeharikota in order to free themselves from the cruelties of the Muslims. It is said that even before the coming of the Reddis to Sreeharikota the Yanadis were living there.

Another traditional version which supports the theory of Yanadi migration into Sreeharikota is that Vasireddi Venkatadri, the powerful chieftain had ordered that all the Yanadis should be massacred and the Yanadis, most of whom were living in Pakanadu, fled away from there into different directions and that a large number of them settled in Sreeharikota.

No doubt Sreeharikoto has been for a long time an important centre for a big section of Yanadis, but, there is no proof of its having been the original home of the Yanadis. When the Yanadis settled in the unhealthy and un-welcome islet of Sreeharikota and where from they came there, is not certain. It appears quite reasonable to assume that Sreeharikota was the most prominent settlement of Yanadis within historical times, just as the Nallamalas are the home of Chenchus. In all probability, the Yanadis, who were until recently familiarly known as "Chenchus" or "Chenhu-Yanadis," are an off-shoot of the Chenchus, who inhabit the Nallamalas, and that Nallamalas must have been their original home, before they settled in the wilds of Pulicat. The Yanadis, the Chenchus, the Irulas and the Kurrubas, all these four branches, seem to have been evolved from the same parental stock. Nallamalas must have been the original home

of all these people. Even to this day, Nallamalas are the strong-hold of Chenchu traditions and the centre of pure and unalloyed ethnic stocks. It is significant to note that the primitive or aboriginal tribes, such as the Chenchus, Yanadis, Irulas, Kurrubas, Lambodis, Koyas, Godabas etc. were distributed until the beginning of the last century, throughout the length and breadth of the Eastern Ghats and the adjoining forests and it is only during the last century that most of these tribes began to flock into the plains in search of better homes and better living.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL NOTES AND NEWS.

In the 27th session of the Indian Science Congress, held at Madras from the 2nd to the 8th January, 1940, Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S.B., presided over the section of Anthropology. On the 3rd January a discussion took place on the '*Co-ordination of Anthropological and Archaeological Studies.*'

Dr. A. AIYAPPAN, Madras Museum, in opening the discussion, said that there was complete unanimity on the fruitfulness of co-ordination of research work in the two sister disciplines of Anthropology and Archaeology. A knowledge of the one is sure to improve the quality of the work of the specialist in the other. Without methodological control, a liaison between the two subjects will be bereft of good results. Special branches of Anthropology like the study of stone age culture or physical anthropology may benefit more by a closer association with the Geologist and the Anatomist, but general Anthropology will be the co-ordinating main subject for a long time to come. Epigraphical and literary studies are useful to the Anthropologist as the relics of the past dug up by the Archaeologist. The addition of Archaeology as a part of the Anthropology Section of the Indian Science Congress is itself a move in the direction of co-ordination. Museums can do very much in bringing the results of Archaeological and Anthropological work in the same historical series. In Dutch Museums they have this holistic treatment of the subjects of Anthropology and Archaeology.

In winding up the discussion, Dr. Aiyappan said

that we in India should not create a schism between prehistoric studies and anthropological studies as has been done in Europe. In India we are far from a stage where Anthropologists can specialise in one or other of the several branches of his subject. The same man has to be a physical and social anthropologist and also a prehistoric anthropologist. It is impossible for such a person to produce the results of highest standard, but existing realities cannot be ignored. The practicable aspect of the work shculd be to request Universities to provide facilities for specialist research in subjects that need urgent attention and to seek means of establishing more contact among workers in different parts of India.

He concluded by appealing to protagonists of separation to realise the advantages of co-operation and support to the existing organisations.

MR. V. D. KRISHNASWAMI, Madras, said that Anthropology and Archaeology became thoroughly international only within the last decade which began with their separation. The *Antiquity* (1927), a journal wholly devoted to archaeology, infused a catholicity of spirit resulting in a new orientation for the science. About the same time Mr. Burkitt gave an impetus to South African prehistory that resulted in the constitution of a Bureau of Archaeology. In 1930, Mr. Burkitt rejuvenated the moribund problem of South Indian Palaeoliths and suggested an expedition to peninsular India, and it was considered in the Indian Research Committee in London. This Committee also brought out a special number of *Man* devoted to the researches in cairn and urn burial in South India. The year

1931 solved for Europe the problem now facing India. The problem was stated by Mr. Burkitt, Profs. Myers and Mahr. The Berne conference cut the knot and the old International Anthropological Congress split into two independent and friendly congresses, one for each. The first International Prehistoric Congress met in London in 1932 ; it made a striking impression on the popular mind through its varied and interesting transactions. Mr. Burkitt published a second paper on palaeoliths found in the laterite near Madras, and the Madras University was moved to explore this laterite. Mr. Burkitt's first paper influenced Dr. Terra to take up the question of the pleistocene glacial cycle in India. In 1934 the first new International Anthropological Congress met in London. Rev. E. W. Smith expounded the future aims of modern anthropology at the Royal Anthropological Institute and justified the separation of the two sciences for practical work. The year 1935 marked a new era in Indian Archaeology. Dr. Terra led an expedition into the N. W. and discovered the polyphase Ice Age in the pleistocene and river terraces correlatable with the lithic cultures. The Madras University's research work led to the discovery of the Abbevillian Site of Vadamadurai, which opened up a new vista. The Association of Anthropology and Archaeology in the same hands was shown up as having been detrimental to the cause of the latter in the Presidency that is the Mecca of prehistory in India—possessing, as it does, the gems of the prehistoric collections of Bruce Foote and others arranged and catalogued by Foote. In South Africa the Bureau of Archaeology came into operation and vigorously

proceeded to work. In England the establishment of the Prehistoric Society with its own journal marked a new era; lead was given in the field of education by the designing of a comprehensive Diploma Course in Archæology in Cambridge, which began to function in the following year. In 1936, Prof. Boswell's Presidential address to this Society, soon after the IIInd International Prehistoric Congress at Oslo, effected the co-operation necessary between archæology and geology and stressed the need for a Central Institute of Archæology on the model of that in France for educational and other purposes. In London, in 1937, archæology was provided for by a separate Institute and Prof. Boswell's advice was taken up by the appointment of Dr. Zeuner for Geochronology. Philadelphia assembled an International Symposium of Early Man, where Dr. Terra brought to notice his discovery of the Indian Ice Age cycle. In 1938 the IIInd International Congress of Anthropology met at Copenhagen. In India there have been miscellaneous activities for advancing the study of national cultures on indigenous lines. France saw the inauguration of the Musée de l'Homme for Ethnology by the side of its archaeological Institute. Dr. Terra explored Burma and found that it falls in the same scheme of late Cainozoic history that was discovered in the Himalayas. The Silver Jubilee Session of the Indian Science Congress accentuated the division of the two sciences. The European invitees laid stress on the need for a central Institute for both sciences for educational and research purposes. Opinion was found unanimous as to the need for the reconstitution of the archaeological department with a

view to the setting up of archæology along modern lines. In the field of investigation as well as instruction the destiny of the two sciences seems to be to proceed on independent paths; at the same time a Central Institute for both to serve the dual purpose of a clearing house of information and of a laboratory for practical instruction, is a vital necessity, while the Indian Science Congress could well serve as an annual meeting ground on the analogy of the British Association.

Dr. D. N. MAJUMDAR, Lucknow University, said that independent social sciences are finding it impossible to continue without systematic co-ordination and the science of Man which deals with the various aspects of human life must look for researches by the various social sciences to solve the problems with which it is faced. Anthropology has already included prehistory and in all the sessions of the congress we had valuable papers from prehistorians which have gone far to enlighten the dark recesses of anthropological research. The roping in of Archæologists in our Section will facilitate co-ordination between the two sciences, and this will go a long way to enlarge our vision and give a general background to the study of Man. Such a fruitful co-operation will be advantageous to both the sciences.

Dr. F. H. GRAVELY, Madras Museum, agreed with Dr. Aiyappan that the necessity for co-operation between Anthropology and Archæology needs no discussion. To confuse the two subjects is likely to fully impede the development of both, but neither can be understood the other without some knowledge of the

other. Their separation, therefore, calls for care that information in either shall not be overlooked by those workers in the other to whom it may be relevant.

Mr. R. V. Poduval, Director of Archaeology, Travancore State. said that from the discussions which took place, it appeared to him that there was some confusion in the scope and function of both Archaeology and Anthropology and that there was a certain amount of misconception relating to their aspects of work. As a practical worker and administrator in Archaeology he was of opinion that Anthropology was a sort of handmaid to Archaeology and that instead of co-ordination he was of the view that Anthropology be subordinated to Archaeology so as to ensure the best results in Archaeological work.

Dr. M. H. Krishnan, Mysore University, began by stating that the various terms like Archaeology, Anthropology, Ethnology, etc., were being used freely and it was better first to get a clear idea of their scope and relations. By way of a hypothesis he drew a diagram on the board and opined that while Archaeology and Ethnography were subjects for collecting information, History tried to arrive at conclusions. The entire field of Pre-history and contemporary primitive society belonged to Anthropology. Thus while permitting specialisation in any branch of the great subject, workers in one subject should try to acquire an outline knowledge of the other. Each is necessary for the other, though each has a large field all its own. The contribution of people who specialised in other subjects is also most welcome, but the co-operation of the two subjects is ab-

solutely necessary to understand man—past and present,—physical, social and cultural.

Mr. M. RAGHAVAN, Madras Museum, said that in the development of these sciences active participation and co-ordination is essential, if they are to advance and be of real service to the peoples of India. It is this attitude of co-ordination and co-operation that has helped these studies to their present state of advancement in Europe, and it cannot but be otherwise in India. Prehistory in Europe, though it is now elevated to a rank of its own and has now its own international congress, has had a long course of life in leading-strings,—a life of co-ordination with anthropology, which it still maintains especially through the medium of British Universities. From his own knowledge of the Oxford University he could say that the co-ordinating work of the University is far-reaching; and the Oxford School of Anthropology gives to its students a well co-ordinated course of studies in different branches of the subject,—Physical Anthropology, Prehistoric Archaeology and Technology and Social Anthropology. Anthropology and Prehistory are the two subjects for the pursuit of which the need is foremost in India of to-day and the Indian Science Congress may in time be persuaded to give a place of its own to Prehistory in the scheme of working of the Congress. Prehistory in the last decade has evolved a technique and a method all its own, and is outgrowing its position as a handmaid to Anthropology. But Prehistory in India is still in its infancy and is bound to have a long stage of infancy at that for some time to come.

Capt. R. N. BASU, Calcutta University, said that Anthropology has been defined as the whole history of mankind as fired and pervaded by the idea of evolution. Hence there is no department of human activity which is not or should not be included within its scope. Though, in theory, this general position is universally accepted, in practice, the anthropologists are as a rule found to act otherwise. When we are studying a primitive people, we might distinguish their social, religious, economic or political features to a certain extent but their interdependence becomes all the more apparent when we are faced with a more advanced society. Their unity is like the unity of an organism. All social activities, whether they may be religious rites or marriage regulations or the fashioning of implements or the depictions on the walls of the inner-most corners of the caves—all are the outcome of the psychological motives of the people.

Again, if Anthropologists are interested in deciphering the whole history of mankind they have to enquire into the physical characters of the various races of the genus *Homo*. In this sense, Anthropology is most closely related to Archæology. It is an accepted truth that any anthropological theories based on ethnological data may be objectively checked by archæological records, but in practice, the ethnologists and archæologists have often pursued these lines of enquiry as if there is no connection between the two, or the findings of archæology have been, at most, employed as supplementary and confirmatory rather than for critical purposes. This is specially the case in more advanced countries such as Greece and Rome, where written records abound. There the Archæolo-

gists think that the task is finished if he can supplement or correct the documentary evidences by the discovery of manufacture, monuments and inscriptions of the past. But in countries where written records are scanty, as in Central America, the archaeologist, no doubt, is forced to appreciate his alliance with the ethnologist. The relation of archaeology and ethnology is all the more apparent in a country like India where a vast literature has existed from time immemorial and where still exist, in her most inaccessible quarters, peoples with a culture on which time has made little impression. I need not here deal with the epoch-making discoveries of Mohen-jo-daro and Harappa which have shed a new light on Indian pre-history.

Kroeber has shown how the result of an analysis of ethnological data pertaining to native society in Southwest America might be checked against the archaeological sequence and he has found that the two records—one inferential and the other objective—agreed remarkably. This he thinks illustrates “the possibility of co-operative relation between the archaeological and ethnological approaches.” Further, he adds, “in the field of intangibles there is no reason why the archaeologist should refrain from using the distributional induction of ethnology ; nor why the ethnologist should hesitate to buttress his findings as to history of culture-forms and organisation by converting, as well as may be, the tangibles actually established by the excavator, into corresponding intangibles.”

Thus it appears that if the ethnologists join hands

with the archaeologists their combined efforts will open new possibilities and when such an effort is combined with historical studies of the physical anthropologist the method of approach will be complete. "The synthesis of these three" as, W. D. Strong believes, "constitutes the historical science of anthropology as conceived by the majority of American Anthropologists."

This opens up a new outlook in anthropology especially in America, while the majority of their colleagues in England are indulging in evolutionary, diffusionist or functional approaches, each being conceived in the minds of its extreme adherents as exclusive of all others. Anthropology, so defined, stands midway between biological and cultural development—a study of culture not in isolation but in relation to carriers of culture.

Since the anthropologist derives his immediate data from several fundamentally related but technically differentiated fields, specialisation of attack is essential. As such, considered by themselves, both ethnology and archaeology may be considered as descriptive sciences, but in using such distributional data for inferring historic or temporal relationships, the anthropologists must do so, as fully as possible, in conjunction with the allied anthropological technique.

Now the success of the specialist depends on the training he receives and in proportion as he understands all the three branches of the mother science. Fortunately for us, opportunity for such complete training has become available in America and the present day anthropological training in America has been esta-

blished on a broad and firm basis through the combined efforts of such scholars.

The following Resolution was moved and carried unanimously :—

“The Anthropological Section of Indian Science Congress Session at Madras reiterates the resolution moved by Prof. H. Fleure, F.R.S. of the Manchester University and passed unanimously at the Silver Jubilee Session of the Congress in Calcutta in 1938, which ran as follows—‘This Conference is of opinion that in view of the urgent necessity of an intensive study of Biological traits and Social institutions of primitive as well as of advanced peoples and cultures in India, it is essential that the Universities and Provincial Administrations should make adequate provision for the teaching and research in Anthropology.’

“The Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress Session in Madras is further of opinion that in view of the extensive scope for Anthropological and Prehistoric work in South India, the Universities of South India should organise a department of Prehistoric and Anthropological studies, both cultural and physical, at the earliest possible opportunity. It considers that the institution of a Degree course in Archaeology would be the first and most appropriate step towards this end, particularly in the Universities of Madras, Andhra, Annamalai, Mysore, Osmania, Travancore, etc.”

At a meeting of the Section of Anthropology of the Indian Science Congress on 4th January, 1940, at Madras, a discussion took place under the

presidency of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, M.A., F.R.A.S.B.

Subject :—Desirability of the continuance of Anthropological Survey during the coming Census.

Dr. A. Aiyappan:—In the absence of a permanent Anthropological Survey, students of Anthropology have been accustomed to look forward to the Census as a substitute for a Survey. At every Census interesting accounts of customs and manners used to be published ; though the standard of these accounts were not always high, in the absence of anything better they were welcomed and read with avidity by students of Man. Since Risley's famous Survey, nearly four decades ago, biometric observation also became a regular feature of Census work. In recent years there has grown up a spirit of scepticism about race studies in the absence of scientific knowledge of human genetics. But anthropometry is still the only means of discovering differences in the physical types of population of different geographical regions. In his presidential address Prof. Le Gros Clark has pointed out the need of anthropologists studying the nutritional status of samples of peoples. This is a question of great practical importance. So the officers of the 1931 Census felt that caste figures were extremely difficult to collect and they satisfied no particular community. This is to a great extent true. But in the matter of the tribal populations and members of backward communities there is a real scientific and administrative need for statistics based on caste or other kind of social division.

Dr. Mrs. Karve :—The work should be entrusted to workers in different cultural areas and then co-ordinated at a central bureau; the workers should work on the same lines with one single standard of measurements, etc. The cultural side of the work should also be undertaken.

Dr. D. N. Majumdar :—After Sir Herbert Risleys' anthropometric survey of India undertaken about 40 years ago—which was a pioneer study of the racial elements in India and as such suffered from certain defects most of which were unavoidable on account of the ill-developed technique in those days,—Dr. B. S. Guha's anthropometric work should be regarded as the first instalment of an important contribution to the study of the raciology of India. Dr. Guha had taken measurements of 2700 peoples but considering the diversity and heterogeneity of ethnic groups in India and the large population which is expected to reach 400 millions by 1941, his data is not sufficient to give any conclusive results. Many castes and tribes who appear to be ethnologically significant have not been measured by him and it is imperative that the work started in 1931 should be continued during the coming Census operations. The scientific value of the data will lose much if the anthropometric survey so well begun remains half done. The time has come when public opinion should be stirred to focus attention to the necessity of re-establishing the ethnographic survey in India; - and until this is completed the census operations should include a scheme of ethnological survey of the country. Anthropometric investigations are not only meant to explain racial problems—they should also be

designed to be the foundation of an eugenic scheme which we in India need most. Blood-group investigations should be co-related with other somatic measurements and the racial importance of blood-group tests ascertained. I would plead for the employment of trained anthropologists in this work, and to-day in India we possess a number of trained hands who can undertake the work if properly distributed among them. The Anthropological Section of the Zoological Survey may be entrusted with supervision and direction of the work.

Mr. R. V. Poduval:—Mr. R. V. Poduval, Director of Archaeology, Travancore State, said that a good deal of anthropological work had already been done, and much information was available in the previous census reports and in the volumes of castes and tribes published by Indian States and provincial governments. It was therefore necessary to suggest the lines of anthropological enquiry to be undertaken in the coming census. A census report was a record of facts and there was no room in it for speculation and theories based on insufficient data. Dr. Guha had started a new line of investigation which, to be completed, will take quite a number of years. It was therefore necessary to consider if that may continue, or if a new line of enquiry be undertaken as, for instance, blood grouping, racial and cultural contacts and their interactions, etc. A resolution indicating clearly what was needed may be adopted and sent for consideration by the census authorities.

Mr. M. Raghavan, Madras Museum:—Dr. Majumdar speaking of his own province has pointed out

the shortcomings in the anthropological survey connected with the last census. If such pit-falls are to be avoided, we have to plan ahead. The work presents many a complex problem. Of piecemeal anthropological field work we have had many in different parts of India, and one wishes that a co-ordination of these efforts by an anthropological survey on an all-India scale were possible. In the absence of such a survey, the opportunity given us by the decennial census must be welcome and the good work carried out at the last census continued. Readers of *Man* will not have missed the criticisms levelled against the anthropological work carried out under the auspices of the last census. Conclusions based solely on field measurements on the living were as unsatisfactory, though the critics scarcely realised that skeletal material was scanty in a land like India, where cremation and secondary burial formed the ordinary mode of disposal of the dead. Considering the magnitude of the excavations by the Archaeological Survey of India in the Indus Valley, the skeletal material turned out was scanty. It was also objected that the Census is a corpus of facts, and not a place for discussion of theories, though a certain amount of theorising is unavoidable in dealing with problems of racial work. While such criticisms as these are only to be expected in such an undertaking, that is no reason why the coming census should be dissuaded from continuing the good anthropological work begun at the last census. As a work of such vast proportions cannot be carried out without the co-operation of anthropologists in different parts of India, it is desirable that a speedy decision should be arrived at.

Capt. R. N. Basu, Calcutta University:—Modern census operations are no longer mere recording of populational changes: they not only consider the total or group variation in the population of a country but direct their attention to more fruitful works. A huge amount of data is collected for the anthropologists, the economists and the public health workers in each census operation. But, unfortunately, these data remain hidden in the archives of the government. The Census Reports published by the government are only partially useful for intensive workers in these departments of knowledge. I shall not consider the possibilities of these data from economic or public health stand points, to-day. My remark will be mainly directed to the anthropological potentialities of the information collected during these operations. Let me take for this purpose the Reports—general and provincial—of the last Census operations.

In almost all the Reports of the last Census operations there are sections devoted to the consideration of the people of the area concerned. Racial analysis has often been attempted in these sections with a view to find out the composition of the people. Such analysis, in most cases, I am sorry to point out, was not made on new data collected in the field nor on approved lines of enquiry set up by modern science of physical anthropology. Anthropometric measurements of a number of selected castes were made from all parts of India and the total number of subjects thus examined come up to about 3000 only. To gauge the variation of a population of 350 millions by examining only 3000 individuals and that in a country like India where race

after race have come in the historic period and even have made it their home, is next to impossibility. Yet it was done and avowedly with the purpose already indicated. Racial analysis is no longer necessary for scientific purposes. The physical anthropologists, now-a-days, are gradually giving it up as useless for the uplift of man and are devoting their attention to more fruitful works in other branches of this science. But in the field of politics, race-classification still holds its place and momentous issues are based on such analysis. It has become a deadly weapon in the hands of unscrupulous statesmen and political agitators. India is passing through a political turmoil brought about by the introduction of the new Constitution, with weightage on particular racial, social or religious groups. Under these circumstance and considering the facts that the previous Census authorities have dealt with the question of racial classification, it is fit and proper for those responsible for the next Census operations to pronounce their judgement on this tangled point after a proper enquiry conducted on modern lines under disinterested scientists fit for such work by education and attainments. Nothing less than this would satisfy the different groups of people whose interests are vitally affected by the verdicts of the Census authorities. Thus co-operation with physical anthropologists is absolutely necessary in the present condition of the country.

Caste is another topic with which the writers of Census reports deal. It is a problem special to India. In the reports we often read of disputes between dif-

ferent branches of the same caste about social precedence. The local Census authorities decide these cases according to their knowledge and information. No attempt is made to study the question on scientific lines. This is a source of disaffection and trouble which can be easily removed if these cases are handed over to anthropologists who are properly trained for this work.

Throughout India, the Hindu social system has attracted the tribal peoples wherever the latter have come in contact with the former. Thus in Assam, Chōṭā Nāgpur, the Central Provinces and similar areas, there are tribal groups in various stages of assimilation into the Hindu social fabric. Some of them have already, more or less, given up their animistic faith and adopted the Brāhmaṇ priest with Brāhminical gods and goddesses. There are others among whom animistic deities are worshiped side by side with Hindu deities. In some groups, Hindu taboos on food and behaviour (e.g. beef-eating, widow-remarriage) have been partially or completely adopted. Certain groups claim to be Hindus while others do not know what appellation to take. Such is the condition in which a substantial section of the tribal population of India now live. During Census operations these people are recorded according to the whims and predilections of the local enumerators. Sometimes it has led to objections from the people concerned when they come to know of it but more often they remain ignorant of their recorded status and category. Their inclusion into Hindu or tribal groups was not a matter of great concern to them in the past. But it has assumed a different colour now-a-days with

popular suffrage and division of the country into protected, partially protected, and not protected areas with their different rights and responsibilities. Moreover such inclusion directly affects their material condition as well. As an instance, I may point to the matriarchal Garos who have come down from the Garo Hills and have settled in the plains of the Mymensingh district in Bengal. They have adopted many Hindu customs and a large section of them claim to be Hindus. If they are recorded as 'Hindu' they lose the benefit of protection given by the Government under the provisions of the new constitution but if they are acknowledged as still belonging to the tribal groups, the local landlords will refuse to settle lands with them. Here is a problem which it is difficult for the local Census officers to decide and should properly be handed over to cultural anthropologists. This is only one of such problems which crop up wherever the tribal peoples have come in contact with civilised groups.

Attempts have been made to give brief descriptions of the more important tribal groups of India in the different Census reports. Such accounts are thought to be necessary as they appear from the beginning of Census operations in India. But it is difficult to understand what purpose they serve. They are too brief to serve any useful purpose except that of satisfying the curiosity of a lay public, which may be interested in the description of grotesque customs and manners after the style of medieval travellers. They are written mostly by local Executive officers. I do not wish to cast any aspersion on their ability and good intentions but I am forced to state that they are,

by education, sympathy and inherent aptitude, incapable of performing this task thrust upon them. So long as these Executive officers are not selected from people with anthropological training, they should not be entrusted with any work concerning tribal peoples and least of all with the preparation of an account of their life and customs. Modern anthropology has its technical methods and they can only be handled only after proper training. Moreover, ethnography no longer seeks to describe the unusual but patiently delineates the characteristic features of social, economic and religious life and points out the problems which beset particular human groups in relation to their environment. Such tasks, if they are to be helpful to the administrator, industrialist, social and religious reformer, economist, politician, in a word to the practical man, should be entrusted to social anthropologists who have the necessary training for this kind of work.

If the Census authorities aim to help the practical man with such tribal descriptions they should secure the help of the anthropologists for this purpose and may right earnestly begin with a definite programme of work for the future instead of winking at the responsibilities which they have got to shoulder. They may look to Africa for guidance for this work.

I have only referred to a few of the topics which the Census authorities have already included in their programme where the anthropologist may come to their rescue. There are others of this nature which it is not possible to deal with here. Some of them are already dealt with in the Census operations while

others should be included in future. Thus religious and social movements of recent origin are dealt with in the Census reports but not in a manner suitable for scientific purposes. The dying out of local arts and crafts and those who practised them is a serious problem for different parts of India and requires immediate investigation and this can be taken up in course of the next Census operations. I have tried to give you sufficient indication as to how and to what extent anthropologists may help and co-operate in Census operations.

The following *Resolution* was moved and carried unanimously :—“The Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress is strongly of the opinion that the Anthropological work done at the last Census, both physical and cultural, will lose much of its scientific value if it is not continued during the forthcoming Census operations. It is of opinion that the work should be extended as regards scope and geographical areas so as to include tribes not previously studied and should also include a study of blood groups. It is essential that trained workers only should be employed for this work.”

The following are abstracts of the papers read in the Anthropological section of the Indian Science Congress at its 27th annual meeting held at Madras in January, 1940 :—

Section of Anthropology.

1. *The taking of a married girl into her husband's gotra.* By D. R. BHANDARKAR, Calcutta.

In the names of ancient Indian kings we often find that their mothers retained their fathers' *gotras*. Some inscriptions show that the names of Brahman women also mentioned their paternal *gotras*. The existence of such names was more universal up to the 3rd century A.D. Survivals of this custom can be traced down to later times. The Vākāṭaka queen, who was the daughter of the Gupta Emperor, Chandragupta II, styled herself Prabhāvati-Guptā, but her mother was Kubera-*Nāga*. In Rājputāna even to this day the wives of Rājput princes are distinguished by their paternal lineage such as Hādi-ji, etc. There is no mention in earlier Smṛti texts of the *later practice of taking a girl into the husband's gotra*. Later Smṛtis, such as the *Likhita-samhitā* and *Hariṣa-smṛti*-evidently codify the practice, which grew in the post-Gupta times with the advent of non-Indian tribes like the Hunas and Gurjaras.

2. *Study of the head-hair of the Noluas of Bengal*
M. N. BASU, Calcutta.

The Noluas are a group of people scattered over four districts of Bengal. Their occupation is manufacturing mats from reeds.

Hair samples were collected from 50 adult male Noluas and studied microscopically with respect to :—

- (1) Colour—Matching with Fischer-Saller Haar-farbentafel.
- (2) Form—According to Trotter's technique.
- (3) Size—By finding out the cross-section surface.

3. *Cult of the Old Lady.* N. CHAUDHURI, Calcutta.

Besides a number of minor cults known among animistic tribes and Hinduized tribes in which she is regarded as a creatrix or *ancestress of mankind*, the *Buri* or the Old Lady has two important cults in Bengal.

In one of these cults prevailing sporadically all over Bengal she is represented by the *sheorā* tree (*Tropis aspera*) and is worshipped by women for protection or welfare of their children. The other cult which is confined to parts of N. Bengal combines with the worship proper a *Jāt* or festival which contains two important features, namely, dancing with dressed-up bamboo poles and dancing with lighted torches tied to ends of iron rods passed through the tongues, arms, palms, etc. of the votaries.

An analysis of the cult discloses how the cult of a tribal deity Brahmanized as *Vṛddhes'wari* and affiliated to the *Devi* cult has incorporated into it rites borrowed from the old Chaitra festivals and important elements of a fertility cult of tribal origin in which the exhibition of dressed up bamboo poles features prominently.

4. *Kinship Usages in the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda.* IRAWATI KARVE, Poona.

From a detailed study of the kinship terminology in the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda, as also the later development of the terminology in the modern Indian dialects, important and interesting conclusions have been drawn about the nature of the family in Vedic times. Information has also been obtained regarding

various taboos and the permission to unmarried girls to have lovers which sometimes included their brothers.

Further work on the kinship terminology and usages in the modern Indian dialects is in progress.

5. *Peoples of Mohenjo-daro, past and present.* C. R. Roy, Karachi.

The discovery of Mohenjo-Daro has brought to light an advanced type of civilization, but it is not yet known who were the founders of this civilization. Mohenjo-daro culture is different from Vedic culture and also distinct from Sumerian culture. The Vedic Aryans and Sumerians were not its authors. Skeletal remains at Mohenjo-Daro show four types of people :—I. Proto-Australoid, II. Mediterranean, III. Mongolian of Alpine Stock, and IV. *Alpine*. Analysis of the measurements of the skulls shows two principal types of people, *viz.*, *Alpine* and *Mediterranean*. Measurements of 100 Sindhis from villages round about Mohenjo-Daro and 100 Brahuis of Baluchistan taken by the writer show that the basis of the Sindhis is Alpine while the basis of the Brahuis is Mediterranean. Comparison was made of measurements and observation of skulls of Mohenjo-Daro and those of the Sindhis and the Brahuis. Conclusion.—*The Alpine Aryans seem to have come to India about 4000 B.C., or earlier and founded the Mohenjo-Daro civilization.* During the Late period of Mohenjo-Daro civilization, *i.e.*, about 2500 B.C., there was an invasion by the Mediterranean race who got mixed up with the Alpine people. Continuity of these principal types of people from the Mohenjo-Daro period up to the present time.

6. *The Boyis of Baroda.* S. T. MOSES, Baroda.

Introduction—The caste and its origin—its Divisions—Occupations—Palanquin-bearing, fishing, vegetable hawking, water-carrying, service, agriculture and waterchestnut cultivation—Fishing gear—Night fishing with light lures. Boyis and crocodiles—fishing ceremonies—Parvati and other deities—Worship of the legendary ancestor, Nathu Baba—Their priests—Marriage customs—Polygamy and widow remarriage—Divorce—Child birth and ceremonies—Funeral customs—Inheritance—Communal Administration; Patel and Pancha—Habitations—Food—Games—Appearance and dress—Height measurements—Cranial and nasal measurements.

7. *Relics of a Vanishing culture in Assam.* K. L. BARUA, Gauhati.

To a student of Anthropology Assam presents a most interesting field for research. The process of unification of the various races and tribes, living in the plains, has been always at work and has been accelerated under British rule.

The Hindu castes of the plains still exhibit many old cultural traits extinct in other parts of Northern India. The heavy intrusion of outsiders into Assam during the present century threatens the complete effacement of the old indigenous culture, which must be recorded before its disappearance.

Kautilya's *Arthasāstra* depicts a picture of the ancient Hindu culture in Northern India in the third

century B.C. In the subsequent struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism and the reform of Hinduism the previous culture was largely submerged, but in Assam the relics of the older culture survive almost to this day.

(1) Divorce and remarriage of widows, recognized as valid during Kauṭilya's time prevail in the Assam Valley among all classes of Hindus, except the Brāhmaṇas, Gaṇaks and Kāyasthas.

(2) Of the eight different forms of marriage recognized in the *Arthashastra*, the Gāndharva, the Asura and the Rākshasa marriages are still recognized as valid.

(3) Early marriage. In Kauṭilya's time marriage meant the union of adults. In Assam the later injunction of pre-puberty marriage has been successfully circumvented by deferring the consummation of marriage till the bride attains maturity.

(4) *Absence of subcastes*—In the Assam Valley the functional groups of the Vaiśyas and the Sūdras persist and have not yet formed into watertight castes.

(5) *Fish-eating and flesh-eating*—The highest Assamese castes even now eat fish, turtles, tortoises and the meat of goat, deer and fowl as in Kauṭilya's time.

(6) *Heterodox occupations*—In the Assam Valley Brāhmaṇas have always been following the profession of Ayurvedic physicians and the women of the

highest castes weave cloths even for sale, without undergoing social degradation.

(7) *Inheritance*—In Kāmarupa the *Sagotra Sapiṇḍas* always excluded the *bhinnagotra sapiṇḍas* as enjoined by Kauṭilya ; but in consequence of decisions of the Calcutta High Court, the daughter's sons now take precedence even over close agnatic relations like brother's sons.

(8) *Use of Gathian to scent oil*—As mentioned in the *Arthashastra*, this was a Kauṭilya custom which still persists in the Assam Valley.

(9) *Census ; espionage*—Both these political institutions recommended by Kauṭilya were in force in Assam till 100 years ago.

(10) *Magic and witchcraft*.—Kauṭilya recommended these in order to overcome enemies. In Assam these practices were greatly resorted to.

8. *The Culture Pattern of a Polyandrous Society.* D. N. MAJUMDAR, Lucknow.

The Khāsiyas of Jaunsar Bawar are a polyandrous people. Jaunsar Bawar is included in the Chakrata sub-division of the Dehradun district in the United Provinces. To the north and east of Jaunsar Bawar lies the state of Tehri, to the east lie Jubal and Sirmur states and to the south is the Dun valley. The whole of this area is rugged and full of precipitous mountains with little even ground. There is ample evidence of the physical similarity of the Khāsiyas with the Kashmīris and the Khāsiya family law resembles the Punjab customary law, particularly that

of the Kangra hills. The Khasiyas have occupied these hills perhaps from long before the Christian era and references to them are found in the *Brihat Samhitā*, the *Vishnu* and *Vayu Purāṇas*, *Hari Vams'a* and the *Mahābhārata*. They represent most probably the easternmost outpost of Indo-Āryan penetration in the Cis-Himalayan region. The social organization in Jaunsar Bawar is characterized by a dual organization of economic classes, *viz.* the Zemindars and the artisans. The latter are mostly recruited from the aboriginal substratum, perhaps of Austric ethnic stock. At the lowest scale of the economic ladder lies the domestic drudge, called 'Kolta' who is the hereditary hewer of wood and drawer of water. Then come the other artisan classes, such as *Bāggārs* (musicians), *Odhs* (carpenters), *Lohars*, *Chamars*, *barbers* and others. The Rajputs and Brāhmaṇs form, as it were, a top-dressing on the aboriginal base. The religious life of the Khasiyas is a curious blend of Hindu and tribal beliefs and practices and though they own allegiance to Hindu divinities their partiality to ancestral spirits, queer and fantastic demons and gods, stones, weapons and various symbols, is rather phenomenal. The Khasiyas are a patriarchal people living in a joint family under the authority of the eldest brother. The polyandry of the Khasiyas is also of the fraternal type as several brothers share one wife with a conventional code of rights and obligations. Physiological fatherhood may not be recognized by the Khasiyas but they appear to have developed a functional fatherhood in which the kinship term for father is qualified by the role or function of the group of fathers in domestic economy. There is a disparity in the distribution of

the sexes, and the fertility of women has considerably fallen in recent years; the proportion of the male children is greatly in excess of females and the attitude of the Khäsiyas towards this problem has been carefully analyzed. The pattern of a polyandrous society has been worked out by the author who has also attempted a functional analysis of the group manners and customs connected with polyandry.

9. *An ethnological explanation of the horned deity sculptured on some Mohenjo-Daro seals.* A. AIYAPPAN, Madras.

An attempt is made in this paper to disprove a recent identification of the figure as Agni, and to support on the basis of ethnological evidence the older theory of Marshall.

10. *A girl's initiation rite among the Kurichiyyans of Wynnaad.* A. AIYAPPAN, Madras.

This paper is an illustration of the difficulties and pitfalls in the historical method in anthropology. After a descriptive account of the Kurichiyan rite which is new to science, the writer proceeds to interpret survivals of similar rites among the plains people of Malabar. In the absence of reliable social history, as in the present case, interpretation of customs in terms of such history as is available is shown to be leading only to confusion.

11. *Handmade pottery of the Urali Kurumbars.* A. AIYAPPAN, Madras.

The Urali Kurumbars who are the chief artisans of Wynnaad still make their pottery without the aid

of the wheel. In this paper their technique is described, and also compared with that of other tribes.

12. Incidence of the *muscle Palmaris Longus* among the Marwari community. R. N. BASU, Calcutta.

A series of 200 individuals were examined both male and female. Percentage of absence of the muscle in different hands are noted and compared with other available data.

13. Ethnic position of the Marrings of Assam. J. K. BOSE, Calcutta.

The Marrings are at present found in the southern portion of the Manipur (Meithei) State, Assam. They are linguistically classed as a branch of the Naga-Kuki sub-group of the Tibeto-Burman family of languages and their total population is 4,228. The anthropometrical measurements and observations of 100 Marrings have been recorded in the course of the writer's field work during 1933-1934. A detailed discussion about their ethnic position has been made in the paper.

14. A possible relic of Matrilocal residence among the old Kuli tribes of Manipur (Assam). TARAK CHANDRA DAS, Calcutta.

The old Kuki tribes of Manipur now-a-days practise patrilocal residence, patrilineal descent, patrilineal authority and cross-cousin marriage of one type-namely, with the mother's brother's daughter. Among a number of these tribes the son-in-law plays the most important part in all socio-religious rites and ceremonies of his father-in-law's house. This function is also attributed to the sister's husband,

father's sister's husband, father's father's sister's husband and so on, i. e. to the husbands of the daughters of the family. The position of the daughter's husband as well as of others who take his place as mentioned above, is anomalous in the present Kuki society. The author tries to show that the anomaly disappears if it be assumed that matrilocal residence, matrilineal descent and cross-cousin marriage of both the types were in existence in the past. The author claims that there are indications of the former existence of these traits among the tribes under consideration.

15. *The Santals.* TARAK CHANDRA ROY CHAUDHURI, Calcutta.

From an Anthropometric study of the Santals of the Santal Parganas, they are found to be a short to medium statured, dolichocephalic to mesocephalic, hypsicephalic with a tendency to orthocephalism. The bridge of the nose is generally straight and the index varies from mesorrhine to chamærrhine. The skin-colour is dark-brown, hair is scanty on the face and that of the head is wavy. The zygomatic arch is moderately prominent. The lips are of medium thickness. The eyes are horizontal and without the epicanthic fold.

The following racial constituents have been tentatively suggested to have entered in the present-day Santals.

- (1) A short-statured, dolichocephalic, chamærrhine element or the Pre-Dravidian.
- (2) A medium-statured, dolichocephalic, mesorrhine element or the Dravidian.

To these might be added a third element with broad heads and leptorrhine noses.

16. Technical development of Indian wall-paintings.

S. PARAMASIVAN, Madras.

There are prehistoric cave paintings in India, probably belonging to the late paleolithic or mesolithic periods. Unfortunately, none has worked out the methods and materials of these paintings. Of historic times, there is no trace of wall painting available. From about the 1st to the 17th century A. D., there is a continuity of tradition in the technical processes of Indian wall paintings.

The paintings at Ajanta, Bagh and Badami are in *tempera* technique with occasional touches in *fresco-secco* method. Ellora paintings are in the *fresco-secco* process. The Pallava paintings at Sittannavasal and Conjeevaram, and the Vijayanagar paintings are in *fresco-secco* while the Chola paintings at Tanjore are the only example so far known of the pure *fresco* process. It is interesting to note that the Ajanta traditions have been carried to Bamiyan in Afghanistan and to Central Asia and, probably through the latter, to China and Japan. Thus while North India seems to have generally specialized in *tempera* technique, the south seems to have been more familiar with *fresco* and the *fresco-secco* processes which find no mention in Sanskrit texts on painting.

17. The Santal Tree-press. K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY, Calcutta.

The writer describes a Santal tree-press for extracting oil, noticed by him in Mayurbhanj. It

is a double-lever tree-press and the writer considers it to be intermediate in type between the single-lever Assam and Nicobar tree-press (previously described by him), and the plank or log-press of the Santals, Korkus and other tribes of the Central Indian plateau.

18. *Coefficient of Cephalization in South Indian brains.* R. K. RAU and A. A. AYER, Vizagapatam.

The literature on Indian brains is deplorably scanty and meagre. With a view to throw more light on the subject, an intensive anthropological study of the brain is now being made by the authors along the lines recommended by Ariens Kappers. This paper furnishes the results of a few incidental preliminary observations on brains with special reference to the estimation of the coefficient of cephalization in South Indians. The subjects, whose body weights have been taken, comprise the members of the menial staff of the college representing the proletariat classes who may for all practical purposes be said to belong to a common ethnic stock, to enjoy a common economic status, and to be adherents of a common religion (Hinduism). The brains of cadavers which have been weighed according to approved methods are again of those nearly identical with the living subjects chosen for somatometric purposes. For the male adult here the average body weight is 48.762 kilograms and the average brain weight is 1.196 grammes. The coefficient of cephalization calculated according to Dubois's Formula $K = E/Pr = 2.834$ (where K = coefficient of cephalization, E = brain weight in grammes, P = body weight in grammes and $r = 0.56$ relation exponent).

The coefficient of cephalization in South Indians is definitely higher than that in Europeans, in whom it is 2.74.

19. *Signed Arrows.* C. SIVARAMAMURTI, Madras.

Signed arrows were used by warriors in battle from very ancient times in India. They were helpful in ascertaining who the fighter on the opposite side was. There are many instances of such signed arrows. Sanskrit literature abounds in references to such missiles; and they are discussed. A late arrow of this type is illustrated and discussed.

20. *The Racial Affiliation of Gonds.* C. HAYAVADANA RAO, Bangalore.

This paper deals with the racial affiliation of the Gonds, a widespread hill tribe common to the Central Provinces, Madras and the present Bengal and Orissa Provinces. It describes the area they inhabit and its history; the languages they speak or have been affected by; the origin of the rite of human sacrifice called *Meriah* said to have been practised by them at one time; the racial identity of the tribes who are known to have observed that rite; and the anthropometric evidence as to their racial identity. It concludes with a few remarks on the data brought together and suggests that the Gonds are a part of the main body of the pre-Dravidian race inhabiting Southern India.

21. *South Indian urn-burials and their affinities.* C. R. KRISHNAMACHARLU, Madras.

The paper seeks to study examples of burial urns of similar shapes found in South Indian prehistoric

sites and certain tombs of the Han period and North Annam (Indo-China) and to suggest a possible date for these burials. Incidentally it brings to notice and discusses the significance of serpent figures on a unique burial-urn preserved in the Travancore State Museum.

22. *Mother and child combinations of blood groups and blood types in Calcutta.* EILEEN W. ERLANSON MACFARLANE, Calcutta.

Cord blood was collected at birth from 342 infants and grouped, as well as blood of 361 mothers in hospitals in Calcutta. Bloods from 256 matching pairs of mothers and babies were grouped; among these 129 were homospecific and 127 heterospecific. There appears to be no significant difference in frequency of premature births nor in weight at birth between these two groups. Agglutination reaction time is noticeably longer, on the average, for babies' red blood cells than for those of mothers. No exception to Bernstein's theory of the inheritance of the genes A, B and R were found. Both cells and serum were tested in 194 pairs of mothers and babies. Only about one-third of the infants have demonstrable agglutinins at birth. Tests for A_1 and A_2 show that A_2 is found in only a little over 2% of the population. These two sub-groups cannot reliably be distinguished by their reaction time. One hundred matching pairs of mothers and babies were typed for M, MN and N. Among them 56 were homotypic and 44 heterotypic. No exception to the expected possible combination of mother-child blood types were found. The proportions of the blood groups among Bengali Brahmins, Muslims and Kāyasthas have been calculated sepa-

rately. The Brāhmaṇs show the highest percentage of Group O and the Kāyasthas the most of Group B. Calcutta Muslims resemble in their blood group proportions the upcountry Khātris and not the rural Bengali Muslims. The proportions of the blood types were found to be of the same order as reported for Calcutta by previous workers, with somewhat more of type MN and less of type M. Small samples from Kāyasthas and Brāhmaṇs, separately, indicate that there is more of type M among Brāhmaṇs and more of type MN among Kāyasthas than the average for the mixed population here.

23. On the palmar prints of the Bengalis. P. C.,
BISWAS, Calcutta.

For the study of the palmar prints of the Bengalis one hundred palm prints of fifty male Bengalis were investigated. The prints were taken in Calcutta. The Bengalis hailed from different districts of Bengal (Midnapur, Burdwan, Howrah, Mymensingh and Faridpur). In this study, the main line formulæ, patterns on the hypothenar, thenar and three interdigital areas are fully discussed. By investigating one hundred Bengali hands the author has arrived at the following conclusions:—

In the occurrence of the main line formulæ 11.9.7.—and 7.5.5.—, the Bengalis have a similarity more with the American-Europeans, Ainu, Oriyas and Indians (assorted group). One thing to be noticed in this connection is that the main line formula 9.7.5.—occurs among the 100 Bengali hands in larger number. In this respect the Bengalis have some similarity with the Eskimos and Red-Indians.

In the appearance of pattern loop on the hypothenar area, the Bengalis have a similarity with the Eskimos, Koreans and the Chinese.

In the occurrence of the pattern loop on the thenar area, the Bengalis have a similarity with the Chinese and Koreans.

The pattern loop, on the III and IV interdigital areas, occurs almost in equal proportion among the Bengalis, whereas among the Mongolians the difference in the appearance of pattern loop on the above two areas, is considerable. In this respect the Bengalis show a similarity with the Europeans and the Oriyas.

INDIAN ANTHROPOLOGY AND GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In *Man* for October, 1939, Mr. M. A. Murray assigns reasons for thinking that the use of the *courie-shell* is not, as commonly supposed, a female charm "founded on the supposed likeness between the human vulva and the opening of the shell when set upright," but that it is worn as an emblem of the eye—as a charm against the Evil Eye "on account of its resemblance—when seen horizontally—to a half-closed eye, the indentations at the mouth of the shell representing the eye-lashes." In *Man*, for January 1940, the same writer again, by way of refutation of the common notion, refers to the wide-spread wearing of the *courie-shell* by men, and male and gelded animals.

In *Man* for November, 1939, Mr. Gwyn Griffiths describes "A Modern Fertility Rite" which came to his notice during a visit to the temple of Deir el Bahri on the Nile opposite Thebes in Middle Egypt. While looking at a mummy he noticed that an Egyptian female, dressed in European style, took her stand near the mummy, and raising her dress a little, stepped over the mummy backwards and forwards some three or four times, saying the while "May the Lord give me a little boy." From inquiry Mr. Griffiths came to know that the rite is widely practised in modern Egypt, although no examples outside Egypt came to his knowledge.

In *Man* for December, 1939, Mr. J. G. Aravamuthan illustrates and describes a *Link between India*

and Crete, in the shape of certain spouted pottery vessels recently discovered at Maniyar Math in Rajgir in enclosures attributable to an age roughly anterior to the Christian era. "The spouted and perforated vessels of Rajgir embody features found in one or other of the Cretan groups. The spouts are similar in shape to the Cretan. The serpent is shown on both the Rajgir and the Cretan vessels. The indentations—probably perforations on the wall of the Rajgir type correspond to the perforations of the Cretan jug. In both, the spouts spring from the upper half and the holes are confined to the area below the neck." The writer says,— "The vessels from Rajgir and from Crete furnish proof of contact, the precise nature of which could be determined only when further evidence accumulated." It is interesting to learn that Mr. Aravamuthan has noticed numerous other links between the Rajgir and Cretan vessels, and that he has been dealing with them in a work he is preparing. It is interesting also to note that a similar vessel has been found in a prehistoric tomb at Kadambaliputhur, near Perumbair, in Southern India.

In *Man* for February, 1940, Mr. S. S. Sarkar notes certain general similarity between the four iron objects from Adichanallur which he had identified as betel-nut-crushers with a specimen of a bamboo betel-nut crusher obtained from the Nicobar Islands.

In the same issue of *Man*, Mr. J. M. Dalta notes certain divergences in the practice of certain sections of Bengali Muhammadans from the precepts of the Prophet (e.g., the differential treatment of *Bibāhi* and

Nikāhi wives, though according to the precepts of the Prophet the husband is bound to make no distinction between them).

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Part I, 1939, Mrs. Nora K. Chadwick contributes an interesting preliminary survey of the "Distribution of Oral Literature in the World," and makes 'an earnest appeal to all those working in the more remote and untouched parts of the world to lend a hand in collecting what remains of native [oral] literature.'

In *Folk-Lore* for December, 1939, under the Collectanea section, Mr. R. Selare gives "A Collection of Saliva superstitions" and M. Renée Tallyntyre gives the story of the Bodhi Tree—"Sacred Tree and Diamond Throne."

In the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* for June, 1939, Mr. N. M. Billimoria, contributes an article on "The Panis of the Rig Veda Script of Mohenjo-Daro and Easter Island," in which he propounds the theory that the Mohenjo Daro Script was carried to the Easter Island by "the Panis mentioned in the Rig-Veda who had the wandering lust," and who "must have carried the writings of Sapta Sindhu, Old Punjab and Sindh, to Assam, Indo-China and Australia," that "as the Panis were traders they were the first to invent a purely alphabetical script, which was afterwards borrowed and improved by the Greeks," and that "it is these Panis of the Vedic Age who have passed as Phoenicians in the western civilized world and later as Baniks in India," and whom the Greeks and ancient Germans called "Foni or Fenek and Punic." The

writer concludes by congratulating India on the fact that "this land was the cradle of that primitive race of traders who over 4,000 years back carried the torch of civilization to Assyria, Babylonia, Greece and other ancient countries.

The *Indian Historical Quarterly* for December, 1939, contains an interesting article on "Cult and Cult-Acts in Kerala" by Mr. K. Rama Pisharoti.

In the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XX, 1938-39, part II Dr. Irawati Karve contributes the second instalment of her illuminating article on "Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages in the Rigveda and the Atharvaveda," and Mr. D. D. Kosambi contributes an article on "The Emergence of National Characteristics among three Indo-European peoples."

In the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Dr. Irawati Karve contributes "Some Folk-Songs of Maharastra" with translations in English; Mr. C. R. Sankaram writes on "Reconstruction of the Proto-Dravidian Pronouns"; and Mr. V. M. Apte contributes an article on "The Rig-Veda Mantras in their Ritual setting in the Grihya Sūtras".

In the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, published January, 1940, Dr. Mohan Singh writes on "The Mysticism of Time (in the Purāṇas), and SS. writes a "Note on the" Terra-Cotta Figurines at Pondicherry." It further contains a bird-myth headed "The Pigeon and the Sparrow in Nepalese Folk-Song" by the late S. C. Mitra.

In the *Journal of the Benares Hindu University*, (Vol. IV, no. 3) for 1940, Dr. Raj Bali Pandey continues his article on "The Hindu Sanskāras of Childhood".

In *Science and Culture* for December, 1939, and January, 1940, Messrs M. A. & D. H. Gordon contribute an article on "The Artistic Sequence of the Rock-Paintings of the Mahadeo Hills."

In the same Journal for March, 1940, Dr. D. N. Majumdar writes on "Blood Groups and their Distribution in Certain Castes in U. P."

In the *Journal of the University of Bombay* for January, 1940, Dr. G. R. Pradhan publishes some "Folk-Songs of Mewar" with English translations.

In the *New Review* for January, 1940, Mr. K. Jayaraman continues his article on "Village Panchayats in Madras".

In the same Journal for March, 1940, Mr. R. N. Saletor contributes an article on "Indian Heraldry". One misses in it any mention of such heraldic symbols as the *Nāga* serpent used in a few royal families in the Eastern Estates Agency and by the Rāj family of Chōtā Nāgpur and any mention of the Rāj family of Darbhānga which employs the fish as its heraldic emblem.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Anthropology (*Racial.*)

The Races of Europe. By Carleton S. Coon, (New York, Macmillan, 1939). Pp. xvi+739; 46 plates, 16 maps. \$ 7.00.

This valuable and scholarly work is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the Races of Europe. The discoveries and ethnic interpretations of the last forty years are reviewed and discussed with a view to reconstruct the racial history of the white race. Materials of physical anthropology are here dealt with in terms of archaeology and of history, "in recognition of the facts that the human body is one unit in a social group and cannot be studied profitably out of its biological and social context."

The author accepts the Mediterranean and Neanderthaloid types as basic to the formation of the European races. According to him, an early smooth-skulled *sapiens* form, one of the ancestral forms of what we now know as the Mediterranean, blended with an early rugged-skulled form, the Neanderthaloid, and this blending in several types, under the influence of environment, selection, migration, and culture, resulted in the modern races of Europe.

As the two basic types—the Mediterranean and Neanderthaloid—were long-headed, the emergence of round-headedness in the neolithic Alpine type has to be accounted for. And our author seeks to do this by assuring that "brachycephaly is a mutative incident

which may occur in any region or race". The progressive tendency to round-headedness is sought to be accounted for by the principle of Dinaricization, and the appearance of intermediate forms by differential blends. Our author explains this principle of "Dinaricization" as follows :—"A mixture of a Mediterranean stock with a 33 *per cent*, more or less, solution of Alpine may bring about a differential inheritance in the majority of the offspring; from the Alpine side is inherited brachycephaly, often greater than that of the Alpine ancestral factor; the dimensions of the pre-auricular part of the head are derived from the long-headed strain, hence the posterior position of the ear; the breadths of the median sagittal sector of the face are inherited from the narrower-faced ancestor, often in exaggerated degree, and this applies especially to the width of the upper segment of the nose and the intra-orbital distance; meanwhile the face often becomes longer than in either parent stock, and the nose, in response to the shortening of the antero-posterior lengths of the entire head, becomes salient. This process occurs in varying degrees in individuals with local racial entities of different origin. If the solution is saturated either with Alpines or with Mediterraneans, phenotypically pure members of whichever stock is predominant appear in considerable numbers. This principle applies to hybrids of other races as well."

So long as research does not advance further, speculations on race origins will be more or less tentative. But now that Ripley's work is forty years old, the present work will supplement and to some extent replace it as the standard work on the subject.

Anthropology (Social).

The Travancore Tribes and Castes. Vol. II.
By L. A. K. Tyer, M. A. with a Foreword by Prof.
J. H. Hutton, C. I. E. D. Sc. and an Introduction by

Prof. Baron von Eickstedt, (Trivandrum Govt. Press, 1939) Pp. liv + 344.

This second volume keeps up the high standard set by the talented author in the first, and we look forward with ardent anticipations to the succeeding volumes of this valuable work. The Travancore Durbar is to be warmly congratulated on their having secured the services of a trained anthropologist for this important work. And our thanks are due not only to the able author of the work who has accomplished his task so well but also to the His Highness the enlightened and generous Mahārāja of Travancore and his wise and far-sighted Dewan who have placed the scientific world in their debt by instituting a regular Ethnographic Survey of the State of which these volumes are the first fruits.

The Baigas. By Verrier Elwin. With a Foreword by Prof. J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., D.Sc. (John Murray, 1939). Pp. xxxi + 550. 30s. net.

Those who have known Mr. Elwin's fascinating books—*Leaves of the Jungle*, *Phulmat of the Hills*, and the *Cloud That's Dragonish*—written either in the form of a day-to-day diary of a life spent among an interesting Indian tribe or in the form of novels and tales giving realistic pictures of certain aspects of primitive life in the Central Provinces of India,—must have eagerly looked forward, as we have done, to the publication of comprehensive monographs from his pen of the principal tribes with whom and whose culture he has through exuberant sympathy and loving

service identified himself in spirit and to whose uplift and whose relief from physical, mental, and economic ills he has dedicated his life with selfless devotion. By the publication of the present volume, which we believe is the first of a projected series of such monographs, the gifted author has laid the reading public and particularly students of primitive life and culture under a deep debt.

The Baigas are one of the most important of the Central Provinces tribes from the ethnologist's viewpoint as they are one of the very few tribes who still remain comparatively the least affected by civilization and retain much of their primitive simplicity and culture and a strong and vital corporate life and group loyalty, although unfortunately they have lost their original language. In the light of the most intimate understanding and sympathetic insight, the author has given us a vivid realistic picture of every important phase of the life of the loveable, though rude and pre-literate, Baiga. We have in this volume a happy combination of the application of the orthodox monographic method with what is now known as the 'functional method in ethnography.'

A novel, interesting and illuminating feature of the book is the life-stories of typical Baigas given in chapter IV. Again, it is practically for the first time in this book that the main features of the sexual life of an Indian tribe has been delineated and discussed with intimate knowledge and psychological insight.

The last chapter in which the "The Future" of the Baiga is discussed and practical measures for the

improvement of their lot in life are suggested deserves to be carefully pondered over, and, so far as possible, acted upon by officers charged with the administration of aboriginal tracts as well as by Hindu and other social workers among our primitive population.

We do not know of a more thorough, comprehensive and instructive monograph on an Indian tribe than this valuable work.

The Blue Grove : The Poetry of the Uraons.

By W. G. Archer. With a Foreword by Arthur Waley. (Allen and Unwin, 1940).

The talented author of this well-written and well-got-up book, has broken new ground by seeking to relate the songs of a primitive pre-Dravidian tribe of India with their social life and customs. And well and ably has he performed his self-imposed task. The translations are happily worded in mellifluous English which yet faithfully keeps to the essential spirit and to some extent the rhythm of the Uraon songs. Mr. Archer has very appropriately chosen the subsidiary title of this delightful book as "The Poetry of the Uraons" and not 'the Songs of the Urāons,' for besides songs, sung at different seasons and on occasions of different agricultural operations, and at different stages of an Uraon wedding, the author entertains his readers with select marriage dialogues, ceremonial addresses, and riddles which have a strong flavour of poetry in them. This volume, as we understand, is only an earnest of many more equally fascinating volumes on the folk-lore

and poetry of the Province of Bihar (of which Mr. Archer is now the Census Superintendent) that he contemplates publishing in the near future.

If other Civil Servants in India availed themselves of their leisure and opportunities in studying and establishing intimate sympathetic contacts with the people under their charge as Mr. Archer has been doing and as several I.C.S. men of a former generation or generations used to do, the inner relations between the rulers and the ruled would have been generally much happier than they are at present.

Anthropometry.

Practical Anthropometry. By Alés Hardlicka. (The Wissler Institute, Philadelphia, 1939). Pp. xiv+231.

This second edition of Dr. Hardlicka's standard treatise on 'Anthropometry' has been re-named "Practical Anthropometry" in order, as the author explains in his Foreword to the present edition, to show that he has "endeavoured to leave a treatise that will not be merely theoretical, but may aid the student also on those various occasions where not rules alone but experience and sound judgment are called for; and there are many such occasions." That this book from the pen of one of the great masters of the subject will amply fulfil the purposes for which it is designed goes without saying.

Archæology (Prehistoric.)

Tools and the Man. By W. B. Wright. (G. Bell and Sons Ltd. London, 1939.) Pp. xvi + 236, 9 plates and 92 figures. 12s. 6d.

Breuil has recently tried to subdivide the cultures of the Somme valley by means of solifluxion nappes, formed during glacial times. An examination of this work has convinced the author of this work that Breuil's findings are correct in their main points and may be applied to the elucidation of other problems.

The book is divided into the following chapters : Introduction ; A Palæolithic Metropolis ; Before the Beginning of years ; The Setting of the Stage ; The Mammals of the Quarternary ; The older Palæolithic of Europe ; The younger Palæolithic ; The Eolith Period ; The Mesolithic, Proto-neolithic and Early Neolithic ; The Terraces of the Somme and the Thames ; Great Britain in the Stone Age ; Zoning and Correlation ; Egypt, North Africa and Kenya ; Palestine ; South Africa ; Mode of Life ; Late Palæolithic Art and Conclusion.

The treatment is predominantly geological, for the main problems are indissolubly connected with stratigraphy and correlation. Much of the recent work carried out in Africa and Europe has been laid under contribution, and the whole data re-examined in the light of Breuil's findings. This volume will prove quite helpful and stimulating to the more serious student of prehistory. But for one who is not already familiar with geological literature the book may present some amount of rather tough reading.

Nirmal Kumar Bose,

American School of Prehistoric Research. Bulletin 15, (May, 1939).

This Bulletin gives highly interesting accounts of (1) an Expedition of the American School of Prehistoric Research to Anatolia in 1938, by Miss D. A. E. Harrod of the Newnham College, Cambridge, and Messrs J. H. Gaul and B. Howe of the Harvard University, which further revealed the evidence of Chalcolithic, Copper-Age, Hittite, and Post-Hittite occupations and further resulted in the collection of a number of stone artefacts, sherds, and fossil animal bones (2) Excavations in the Cave of Bacho Kiro, North-East Bulgaria, by Miss Garrod, which revealed for the first time the outline of a palaeolithic sequence for Bulgaria, and "burnish-decorated sherds having more resemblance to local Bronze Age decoration than to anything Neolithic or Chalcolithic in that region." Mr. Rafael Roper writes a note on the Animal Remains from the Cave of Bacho Kiro. Representative lithic, pottery and animal remains found are also figured in this Bulletin. The excavations at Bacho Kiro yielded for the first time in Bulgaria a stratified palaeolithic sequence (Mousterian and Aurignacian), surmounted by a deposit containing pottery and a recent fauna.

Economics.

Studies in Applied Economic and World Economy. Vol. 2 : Comparative Industrialism and

its Equations With special reference to Economic India by Dr. Benoy Kumar Sarkar. (Chuckerverty Chaterjee & Co. Calcutta.) Rs. 6/-

In this book the author has made a critical study of certain economic problems facing to-day the world and especially India. The special features of this book are the employment of the comparative method and the introduction of plenty of statistics, Indian and foreign. The comparative method and the statistics enable the reader to see the facts truly and quickly and as such, they are invaluable. A sort of cheery optimism pervades the entire book, especially the chapters headed "The Bank Capitalism of Young Bengal" and "The World-Crisis in its Bearings on the Regions of the Second and the First Industrial Revolutions." It is heartening to see that a veteran economist like Dr. Sarkar prophesies a bright future for Bengal in Bankihg, and this will undoubtedly give a great impetus to the Banking ; Industry in Bengal. Dr. Sarkar has not, however, failed to point out, by facts and figures, that India, inspite of her several industries and apparently big Railway mileage, is lagging far behind other civilized countries and that she must progress far before she can take up her position as a really economically advanced country.

H. D. Ghosh.

Indian Religion.

Post-Chaitanya Sahajiya Cult. By Manindra Nath Bose. (University of Calcutta, 1930). Pp. xi + 320,

In this volume we have, for the first time, a clear exposition of the main aspects of the Sahajiyā cult in Bengal. An attempt is made, in chapter III, to trace the earlier expressions of the ideas that underlie the cult in the Vedas, the Upanishads, the earlier Buddhist works, the Tantras, the Āgamas, and ancient classical writers; and in such ancient practices as phallic worship, the “Ekadhippāyo” custom mentioned in the *Kathā Valthu*—a Buddhist work of probably pre-Christian times, certain customs and practices of the Rusicrucians and the Knights Templars, and practices connected with the Witches’ Sabbath. Of these, our author writes, “These are instances of the most crude form of worship retained as the remnants of primitive culture, the like of which to some extent is observed by a section of Sahajiyas even at the present day. But the formal observances of this kind are merely the external appendages of the main stalk which, resting upon a sound philosophical basis, supports the central structure of the faith and reveals the true character of the doctrine. The Shahjiya religion also has a higher aspect of this kind which aims at the culture of love and beauty in the company of women for the attainment of a state of perfect bliss usually associated with the idea of immortality. By looking back into the history of the remote past, we find that a system similar to this was in existence in Greece at the time of Socrates and Plato, which the latter had supported with philosophical arguments (in the *Banquet of Plato*).” As for the highest aspect of the Shahjiya doctrine, our author says that it is wholly mystic in nature, and “can only be realised by those who have got the spiri-

tual insight through proper training." "In fact," he continues, "this aspect of culture is fully based upon mystic realisation. The appreciation of beauty in this never-ending play of Matter and Energy with love as a constant source of creation, is the object of the highest aspect of the Shahajiyā culture, for the Shahajiyās affirm that there is nothing that is higher than this....The benefit of this culture is the 'enrichment of character, of personality, the creation of Beauty, and the discovery of truth' (Pp. 246-7). Again, "In the physical, moral and intellectual aspects of culture, the Shahajiyās have one object in view, namely, the culture of self. It is for this reason that the Shahajiyās are not so very particular about God and His worship. But the true character of the *Parakiyā* culture can be explained on the principle of experimental psychology. The object of the culture is to acquire the knowledge of one's own self. This can be done effectively when the devotee is placed in the position of observer making his own self the object of observation, like a man accommodating himself before a mirror. In practical culture women are taken for this purpose, for a man puts himself bare in his native form revealing his native tendency, his strength and weakness, to a woman with whom he preserves unreserved association. The woman then becomes the mirror before whom his true self is reflected in all its genuine colours. A critical observer can mark the effect thus produced, and regulate his own tendencies for further betterment. A female partner is there, taken for the sake of knowledge about self." (Pp. 258-9).

The author does not tell us to what extent the ideal of the cult has been actually realised in practice. It would be instructive if an inquiry was made and, if possible, a census taken regarding the proportion of the followers of the cult who have succeeded in realising the ideal and those who have failed and thus sustained a moral and spiritual fall.

The last chapter gives an account of Shahajiyā Literature.

Indian Philosophy and Logic.

The *Nyāya* Theory of Knowledge. A Critical Study of some Problems of Logic and Metaphysics. By S. C. Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S. (Calcutta University, 1939). Pp. xix + 421.

In this volume the learned author gives a clear and comprehensive account of the *Nyāya* Theory of Knowledge, with interesting and instructive comparisons with the parallel and rival theories of other systems, Indian and Western, and a critical estimate of its worth. The contents of the book fully justify the author's concluding observation,—“The contribution of the *Nyāya* theory of knowledge is not really inferior to that of any other theory, Indian or Western. The method of logical analysis employed by the *Nyāya* in the study of the problems of logic and metaphysics is a valuable asset for any system of philosophy. The charge is often heard against Indian philosophy that its theories are not based on logical reasoning but on religious authority and, therefore, they are dogmatic rather than critical. The *Nyāya* philosophy is a standing repudiation of this charge. The theory of knowledge, formulated by the *Nyāya*, is made the basis not only of the *Nyāya-Vais'ēsaka*, but also of other Indian systems, with slight modifications. The *Nyāya* applies the method of logical criticism to solve the problems of life and reality. It is by means of sound logic that it tries to ascertain the truth and defend it against hostile criticism. Many of the contributions of this logic are of great value even at the present day. The realistic logic or, more generally, epistemology of the *Nyāya* will not suffer by comparison with the modern realistic theories of the West.”

This valuable contribution to our knowledge of Indian philosophy and Logic testifies to the author's deep erudition and powers of acute analysis and lucid exposition.

The Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux.
An Exposition of the Philosophy of Critical Realism
as expounded by the school of Dignāga. By Satkari
Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D. (Calcutta University, 1935).
Pp. xxxiii+448.

In this volume the author has given an intelligible, clear and critical exposition of the realistic philosophy of the Medieval school of Buddhism started by Dignāga and Dharmakīrti and later systematised and developed by Śāntarakṣita, Kamalaśīta, Ratnakīrti and other writers of note. By a comparative study of the common-sense realism of the *Nyāya-Vais'eshika* and *Mimāṃsā* schools, the philosophy of absolute negativism propounded by the philosopher Nāgārjuna and his followers, and the later Buddhist school and particularly Parbhākara who declared negation to be *non est*, our author has laid bare the epistemological problem and the solutions offered by the rival philosophies, and placed the Buddhist position of Dignāga and his school in a clear perspective. Evidence of the author's learning, clear thinking, and critical acumen is manifest in everyone of the twenty-two chapters into which the book is divided.

Miscellaneous.

Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali Manuscripts.
Volume I. By Basanta Ranjan Ray, Vidvadvallabh,
and Basanta Kumar Chatterjee, M.A., with an Intro-
duction by Rai Dinesh Chandra Sen Bahadur, D.Litt.,

vol III. By Manindra Mohan Bose, M.A. (Calcutta University, 1926, 1928, & 1930). Pp. 791+xxxvii+xxvi+x+2.

By publishing this most useful guide-book for students of unpublished old Bengali literature, the Calcutta University has done a great service to the cause of research and study. The introductions to the volumes are of great interest. The catalogues themselves do not merely contain descriptions of the quality and size paper on which the manuscripts are written, the nature of the handwriting, date and place of find, but give representative specimens of the contents of each manuscript.

Obituary.

It is with profound sorrow that we have to record the passing away of a very prominent figure in the field of anthropology. In 1888, the late Dr. Alfred Cort Haddon, M.A., Sc.D., then a Zoologist in Dublin, went to the Torres Straits to study marine Zoology and left the Straits in the summer of 1889 not only with considerable collections of marine animals but also with a few ethnographical specimens and some ethnographical material on the Western islanders including their folk-tales, which were published respectively by the Royal Anthropological Institute and the Folk-Lore Society of London. In this connection Dr. Haddon made the acquaintance of ethnologists and folklorists and other anthropologists, and Sir William Fowler suggested to him that he should seriously take up the study of anthropology. Regarding this suggestion Dr. Haddon writes, "This I was not very ready to do as I was devoted to Zoology. However, on my return to Dublin I gradually turned my attention to various aspects of anthropology, and finding not much scope there for my new interests I went to live in Cambridge in 1893. A few years later I resigned the Chair of Zoology in the Royal College of Science, Dublin, and thenceforth devoted myself to anthropology. Feeling that our knowledge of the Torres Straits Islanders was extremely incomplete, I decided to make another expedition thither, and I was fortunate in being able to persuade six others to accompany me; we arrived on Thursday Island on April 22, 1898." (*Introduction to Vol. I of the Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits.*)

All serious students of anthropology are acquainted with the monumental work of this veteran anthropologist—*Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*—of which the first instalment appeared as early as 1901, and the last instalment (volume I., General Ethnography) as late as in 1935. Already Dr. Haddon had been elected as a Fellow of the Royal Society.

His contributions to anthropology are varied and most valuable. He was the first to draw attention to the value of form, technique and motif of decorative art, combined with ethnographical data, in the delineation of definite cultural areas. He was also the first to recognize and stress the importance of string figures found among most primitive peoples (and surviving in the "Cats' Cradles" of civilized children). Besides the *Reports of the Cambridge Expedition*, his publications include *The Study of Man*, *The Races of Man*, *The Wanderings of People*, *Evolution in Art*, *Decorative Art of New Guinea*, *Head Hunters*, *History of Anthropology*.

MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. XX. } July—September, 1940. } No. 3.

I. TOTEMISM AMONG THE GONDS.

By

M. P. BURADKAR, M. A.

[*Research Scholar, Nagpur University.*]

Section I.—*Introduction.*

Totemism in its pure¹ and primitive form no longer exists among the Gonds. As an organized system it disappeared in the distant past, leaving a few traces of its existence here and there. To the Gonds in general, totems are now nothing but clan-names. Some of the clans have adopted either eponymous, territorial or titular names giving up their original totemic ones. The majority of the totemic clans are ignorant of totem taboos, and of the rest very few observe them with as scrupulous care as they are observed by other tribes retaining totemism in its more or less primitive form. Totemism among the Gonds has decayed to such an extent that many of them do not realise the significance of their totems. In its social aspect, however, Totemism still predominates among them, and their social system based on exogamous totemism still survives.

¹ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy* Vol. IV., P. 9. "The totemic system of tribes which do not practise exogamy may be called *pure totemism* and the totemic system of tribes which practise exogamy may be called *exogamous totemism*".

We find two kinds of totems recognised by them:

They are:—(i) the clan totem, and

Kinds of totems. (ii) the phratric or class totem.

The clan totem is common to the whole clan and passes by inheritance from generation to generation and binds the whole clan into a kind of blood relationship. The phratric totem is common to all the clans included in a particular phratry or class and is an object of reverence and adoration to the members of those clans.

The Gond tribe is divided into various sub-tribes which are more or less

Structure of the Gond community. endogamous in nature. These tribes and sub-tribes in their turn are

divided into exogamous phratries or classes distinguished by the number of gods each worships. Each such exogamous phratry or class comprises within itself a certain number of clans which cannot intermarry amongst themselves. The clans included in the same exogamous phratry form a kind of brotherhood known among them as 'Bhaiband'.

Section II.—*Clan Totems.*

In many cases, the clan totem is now practically nothing but a clan name. It determines the relations of the clansmen to each other and to men of other clans. Members of the clan believe themselves to be of one blood, descended of a common ancestor and consequently bound together by certain social ties and institutions. But as for those who retain their faith inⁱⁿ their totem, the clan-totem is not merely a clan-name. They ^{reverence} it and regard

it as one of their kinsfolk. There are still some among these people who mourn for the death of their totem.

The fauna and flora of the habitat of the Gonds supply the bulk of their totems. But with the advance in civilization—acquisition of the knowledge of agriculture, the use of metals, etc.—some subsequent additions were made to the original totems. The existing Gond clan-totems may be classified as follows :—

(The list is not exhaustive.)

I. Beast Totems.

1.	$\begin{cases} \text{'Bagh'} \\ \text{'Pulli'} \\ \text{'Sodi'} \end{cases}$	(Tiger) (,,) (,,)	7.	'Gadha'	(Ass)
2.	'Netam'	(Dog)	8.	'Paiya'	(Heifer)
3.	$\begin{cases} \text{'Ghoda'} \\ \text{'Taram'} \end{cases}$	(Horse) (,,)	9.	'Poia'	(Cow)
4.	$\begin{cases} \text{'Jagaha'} \\ \text{'Bhaiñsa'} \end{cases}$	(Buffalo) (,,)	10.	$\begin{cases} \text{'Bakra'} \\ \text{'Eti'} \end{cases}$	(Goat) (,,)
5.	'Sui'	(Porcupine)	11.	'Koda'	(Colt)
6.	$\begin{cases} \text{'Barora'} \\ \text{'Wadkada'} \end{cases}$	(Wild cat)	12.	'Kunjam'	(She-rat)

II. Birds Totems.

1.	'Hansa'	(Geese)	5.	Chincham	(a kind of Hawk)
2.	'Kawre'	(Crow)	6.	'Mal'	(Peacock)
3.	'Baisia'	(a kind of Hawk)	7.	'Saras'	(a kind of Crane)
4.	'Besra'	(,,)			

III. Fish and other Aquatic Totems.

- | | | |
|---------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. 'Marpachi' | { (Tortoise) | 3. 'Kana' (a kind of fish) |
| 'Kachhua' | | 4. 'Bod' (Big river fish) |
| 'Kashyap' | | 5. 'Gaek' (a kind of fish) |
| 2. 'Magra' | { (Crocodile) | 6. 'Honti' (a kind of fish) |
| 'Magral' | | |

IV. Reptile Totems.

- | | | | |
|------------|------------------|------------|-----------|
| 1. 'Urrum' | { (iguana) | 3. 'Marai' | { (Cobra) |
| | | 'Nag' | |
| 2. 'Goha' | { (Large Lizard) | | |
| 'Jagat' | | | |

V. Vegetable Totems.

- | | | | |
|--------------|------------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| 1. 'Tekam' | (Teak tree) | 9. 'Kumra' | (<i>Kumbhi</i> tree) |
| 2. 'Markam' | (Mango tree) | 10. 'Admachi' | (the <i>Dhaura</i> tree) |
| 3. 'Irpachi' | (<i>Mahua</i> tree) | 11. 'Ghopi' | (wild <i>Jamun</i>) |
| 4. 'Siras' | (a kind of tree) | 12. 'Palas' | (<i>Butea frondosa</i>) |
| 5. 'Sindram' | { (Palm tree) | 13. 'Purkam' | (Pumpkin) |
| 'Sindi' | | | |
| 6. 'Karma' | (a kind of tree) | 14. 'Tumdam' | (Bottle gourd) |
| 7. 'Tumri' | (<i>Tendu</i> tree) | 15. 'Bad' | (Banyan tree) |
| 8. 'Kosa' | { (from <i>Kosa</i> = Silk cocoon) | 16. 'Nabalia' | (Dwarf date-palm)) |
| | | | |

VI. Other Totems.

<i>Natural objects.</i>		<i>Artificial objects.</i>	
1. 'Loha'	(iron)	1. 'Marskola'	(axe)
2. 'Moti'	(pearl)	2. 'Portai'	(basket)
3. 'Watka'	(stone)	3. 'Arka'	(earthen pot)
4. 'Lon'	(salt)	4. 'Gaj'	(arrow)
5. 'Tirgam'	(fire)	5. 'Sarati'	(whip)
6. 'Ganga'	(sea)		

VII. Cross Totems.

- | | |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Kohka-path. | 5. Ivna-Jaghyā. |
| 2. Eti-Madavi. | 6. Ivna-Inde. |
| 3. Padi-Madavi. | 7. Markam-Suri. |
| 4. Eti-Kumra. | 8. Markam-Kusru. |

VIII. Split Totems and Cross split Totems.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. 'Mandni' (female organ) | 4. 'Pathmukh' (Head of a) |
| of generation)} | kid)} |
| 2. 'Panja' (paw of an) | 5. 'Sarsun' (Blade of corn) |
| animal)} | |
| 3. 'Puroti' or 'Pudoli' (Bowels) | |

The Gonds recount a few legends as to the origin of their totems. Some of **Myth explanatory of totems.** them reveal their belief in the descent of a man from his totem.

A few of them are given below.

The legend² regarding the origin of the Gond tribe, current among the Gonds of the Betul district, states that the human ancestress Sukhmadevi, from whom the Gond tribe is descended was born along with her brother. In the midst of the water in the ocean, it is said, there lived the Singmali birds, male and female. They laid two eggs which were brooded upon for nine months and nine days and then were a boy and a girl born. The girl was Sukhmadevi-Velar from whom the Gonds descended and the boy, her brother, was Adi-Ravan-Parial who was commanded by the Great God through his companion angel to lead the Gonds to His worship.

² C. Trench, *Grammar of Gondi*, Vol. II PP 1 sq.

Adi-Ravan-Parial, as commanded by the Great God, assembled the Gonds of whom some were wandering in the forest and some had settled in the jungle. He started with all these Gonds for the seat of the Great God. They came across the river which in the meantime rose in flood as a result of which all of them were detained. But being anxious to reach the other side of the river, they plunged into it in haste, and one caught hold of a *Tendu* log (*tumdi māda*), another a *Sirras* (*Sirras māda*), another a mango (*Murka Māda*), another a palm tree (*Sindi-Māda*), another a teak tree (*Teka Māda*), another a tiger (*Pulli*);— and thus each seizing something or other, they all forded the river.

Having come across the river safely, they assembled underneath a *Saj* tree (*Mard Māda*) and ate the new rice. They then began to enquire of one another what each of them had caught hold of when they crossed the river. (*Immat bārāng-bārāng baisi wārtil?*—‘What did you catch hold of when you crossed’?) On knowing from each of them what they caught hold of, Adi-Ravan-

Prevalent belief regarding origin of the totems. Parial declared the animal or tree they respectively caught hold of while crossing the river to be their respective totems (*Padis*). A delicate and super-polite way of asking a man his *padi* (totem) prevalent among the Gonds of the Betul District, is to say ‘*Immā bārāng baisikun dhodā wārsī?*’ i. e. ‘What did you catch hold of when you crossed the river?’ The reply will be the name of his *padi* (clan totem).

The Gonds of the Jashpur State, who are immigrants from the Phuljhar Zamindari of the

Raipur district, narrate a similar tradition to explain the origin of their totems. They say that when they were migrating from Phuljhar into the Jashpur State, they found the river Gandaki in flood. 'Each group selected a different animal to take it across the river and these were adopted as the totems of their *gotras*'³ (clans).

In this legend of the birth of the Gonds is crystallised the Gond totemic belief that their tribal ancestors descended from the birds. It is also indicative of the belief that their respective totem animal or plant helped or protected the human ancestor of each clan or had been otherwise of some service to him.

There is another legend⁴ which tells us of the birth of the totem animal from **Totem animal born of human ancestress.** the human ancestress. According to the legend of Bageshwar current among certain Gond clans in the Chhattisgarh and Chhotā Nāgpur country there lived a family of five brothers named Kusru, Suri Markam, Netia and Sarsum. To the wife of the eldest was born a tiger cub. As it grew up, the young tiger made itself very useful in keeping off predatory animals from its father's crops, which resulted in the greatest affection between the father and the cub, his child. The tiger after serving his father for some years died and Kusru was much grieved at heart. After some years, in the marriage ceremony of Kusru's daughter, one of the company was possessed of the spirit which was recognised to be that of the lost tiger-son of Kusru. The

³ C. P. Census Report 1931. P. 408.

⁴ J. A. S. Bengal, 1872, Part I PP 115—20.

demoniac was appeased with the sacrifice of a live kid which he tore up into pieces after the manner of a tiger, and after being appeased with three cupfuls of liquor and a mouthful of 'ghee' disappeared.

In course of time Kusru's tiger-son was deified and worshipped under the name

**Appearance of
the totem spirit in
the marriage
ceremony.** of Bāgeshwār. The appearance of this tiger-spirit in the marriage ceremony is considered a most happy omen among the Gonds who claim descent from the above-named five Gond brothers, i. e., among Kusru, Suri, Markam, Netia and Sarsun clans. No marriage ceremony in these clans is considered complete without the appearance of Bāgeshwār and its attendant rites.

The worship of Bāgeshwār is no longer confined to the five clans named above, but has been extended to the other clans and sub-tribes of the Gonds. With other Gonds, Bāgeshwār is simply one of the many spirits to whom propitiatory offerings are yearly made. According to the latter, he has no such origin as that ascribed to him by the five clans before mentioned, but is simply regarded as the 'concentrated essence of spirits' which have issued from those Gonds who have met their deaths by tigers; for, according to local belief, the spirits of all Gonds thus killed are said to unite and form one great spirit Bāgeshwār; and it is simply with a view to saving their flocks and herds and also their own lives from the ravages of tigers that the inhabitants of every Gond village make yearly

offerings to propitiate this demon. In the southern part of the Gond country and also in the Satpura hills, this Tiger-god is worshiped under the name of Bāgh-Deo.

The legend of Bāgeshwār has, as it seems to me, the true totemic ring about it; it points clearly to the former identification of the clans-people with their totem, which is only another way of saying that the present people are supposed to be descended from the totemic animal.

The Tumrecha (*Tendu*) Uika⁵ clan has a tradition to account for the origin of their clan-names. They say that the ancestor of their clan was walking in the forest with his wife who was with child. She saw some 'tendu' fruit and longed for it; and he gave it to her to eat⁶.

Conception through the totem.

This tradition may appear to confirm the conceptual theory of the origin of Totemism. Sir James Frazer opines that the savage mind being ignorant of the physical process by which men and animal reproduce their kinds, in particular the part played by the male in the generation of offspring, imagines that the child only enters into the mother's womb at the moment when she feels it stirring within her womb: She could not understand that the child was there long before she felt the stirring. If the child enters the woman only at the first quickening of her womb, what

⁵ In the Betul district exogamous phratries worshipping six and seven gods are known as Uika and Dhurwa respectively; and in this locality a man while telling his clans-name suffixes the name of his phratry to it.

⁶ Russell and Hiralal, *Tribes and Castes of C. P.* vol. III p. 69,

more natural than to identify it with something that simultaneously struck her fancy and perhaps mysteriously vanished? It might be a tiger that suddenly jumped out of a thicket and disappeared in the forest; it might be a bird singing in its flight; it might be a hissing snake or a bleating goat. "Anything that struck a woman at the mysterious moment of her life when she first knows herself to be a mother might easily be identified by her with the child in her womb. Such maternal fancies, so natural and seemingly so universal, appear to be the root of totemism⁷."

To explain the Gond tradition in the light of this conceptual theory, we have to assume that originally a Gond woman felt her womb quickened the moment she ate the fruit or the moment it fell down and struck her attention when she was under that tree, but that in course of time it changed into the form in which we get it now. But it may be pointed out that such traditions may originate independently of totemism and may prevail amongst both totemic and non-totemic people. The Gond tradition quoted above is, however, no doubt, totemic, since the clansmen observe totem taboos in connection with the tendu tree. They do not cut the tree, nor do they make any use of its leaves. They, however, eat tendu fruit. This is because totemism among the Gonds is now a decadent institution and secondly, because the fruit is one of the articles of food of the Gond people. Here it may be suggested that the origin of

⁷ Frazer, Op. cit., vol. IV PP. 62—63.

Totemism among all tribes and in all cases need not, and probably is not, the same.

Some Gond clans mourn for their dead totem as for a clansman. In the Jashpur State, members of the Bagh

Dead totems mourned.

(Tiger) clan,⁸ will abstain from eating tiger, and a person who happens to see a tiger killed will throw away one of his earthen pots and abstain from one meal. These observances are somewhat akin to those they observe when they are in mourning because of the death of a clan-fellow.

The members of the 'Parteti'⁹ clan in the Mandla district revere the crocodile and, if they see one lying dead, break their earthen pots in token of mourning. The crocodile among this clan has developed into a kind of totem god. They not only revere it but offer sacrifices to it at the end of a marriage ceremony performed in their families. Similarly the birth or death either of a cat or of a dog in a family is regarded as defiling some of the clans of the Pardhans, one of the functional sections of the Gonds. They cannot be free from this uncleanness until they have shaved off their moustaches, purchased new cooking vessels and regaled their tribe-fellows with a plentiful allowance of liquor. To understand the significance of the customs observed on the occasion of the birth or death of a cat or dog in the family, we have to note some of the customs connected with the birth and funeral ceremonies of the Gonds. These people observe mourning usually for three days at the end of which they

⁸ C. P. Census Report 1931 P. 408.

⁹ Russell and Hiralal, *The Tribes and Castes of C. P.* Vol. III. P. 68.

give a feast to the tribe fellows, when they are freed from death-pollution and mourning. Both these customs are observed by the Pardhans in the case of the death of a domesticated dog or cat of the family. It may not be unreasonable therefore to infer that these observances originated in the belief that they are descended from these animals. This inference is confirmed by their practice of shaving their moustaches on such an occasion, for it is at the death of the parents only that a man does this. The practice of shaving one's moustaches at the death of one's parents is common amongst many Hindu castes in contact with whom the Gonds have been living from a long time. Similarly it is a thing of common knowledge that the birth of a child in a Hindu family is believed to cause pollution to the family for a short period, though of course of a different sort. Thus the observances of the different clans at the death of the totem animals may be inferred to have originated in the totemic stage of their moral and intellectual development when they claimed actual kinship with their totem animals. In course of time the original beliefs and their attendant observances would appear to have undergone considerable changes, the Gonds retaining only a few of them now. The beliefs among the Pardhans described above have almost disappeared among those of them who live in settled villages.

Totemic death ceremony Certain rites observed by the Lonchatia (Saltlicker) clan at the death of a relative are indicative of their belief that as the clan sprang from the totem so each clansman, at death, resumes the totem form. In the Betul district, the members

of this clan spread salt on the platform raised in honour of the dead and make cattle lick it.¹⁰ The clansmen do not understand the significance of the practice which they have been observing from the time of their remote ancestors. The spreading of salt on the platform is clearly a rite performed to identify the dead man with his totem, whose form he is supposed to resume at his death. A somewhat similar belief is prevalent among the Omahas, one of the North American tribes.¹¹ They believe that the ancestors of the different clans were respectively the rattle-snake, deer, bear, sand, water, tobacco, etc., and think that at death each man, according to his clan, is changed into a rattle-snake, or a deer, and so on.

In some of the localities the custom of the clansmen licking salt is probably the relic of an old ritual gone through to strengthen the tie with the totem,—to identify themselves fully with it. In primitive totemic society, men made little distinction between their totem and their kinsfolk and, as such, the object of this observance may also be to absorb the dead relative in the clan through eating the totem, the form of which the man resumes

¹⁰ Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I *Glossary* P. 384.

¹¹ Schoolcraft, *Ind. Tr.* IV-86, quoted by Frazer in *Totemism & Exogamy* Vol. I., 35. ‘Amongst the black shoulder (Buffalo) clan of Omahas, a dying clansman was wrapped up in a buffalo skin robe with the hair out, his face was painted with the clan mark; and his friend addressed him thus, “You are going to the animals (the buffaloes). You are going to rejoin your ancestors” (*Third Rep.* P. 229 quoted by Frazer, Vol. 1—P. 35.)

at death. The original clan-name must have been 'salt' and the present name, titular in form, must have been imposed on them by others because of their practice of licking salt in the manner described above.

As already remarked, there exist a few traces of totemism among the Gonds **Respect shown to the totems.** now,—some here and some there,—but as an organic whole, nowhere.

Generally, the members of the clan revere and respect their totem and abstain from injuring, killing or eating it if it is an animal or a plant. But this practice obtains among those who realise the significance of their totems. Observances of the totem taboos differ from clan to clan and place to place, obviously because of the different level of culture each of them has attained. On the whole the institution being decadent, the totem taboos now observed by these people are few.

In the Jashpur State¹², the members of the 'Jagat' or 'Goha' (Gecko) and 'Marai' (Cobra) clans abstain from killing their totem animals, viz., Gecko and cobra respectively. So is the case with the 'Marpachi' (tortoise) and 'Kana'¹³ (a kind of fish) clans who neither catch nor eat their totemic animals. The 'Baisia' (Hawk) clan do not make use of a hawk in catching birds. In the Raipur district, the 'Taram' (Horse) clan respect and worship a horse and abstain from abusing it.

¹² C.P. Census Report, 1931, P. 408.

¹³ A kind of fish with a sensitive tail. It is callous to a touch on any other part of its body.

It was once a common belief among them that they descended from the horse.¹⁴

In the Mandla district,¹⁵ the members of the 'Ete-Maḍabi'¹⁶ (Eti-goat) clan neither touch nor sacrifice a goat to their Great God, 'Bāḍa Deo'. The 'Wadkada' (wild cat) clan revere the wild cat; but they do not touch the domestic cat, nor do they keep any in their houses. They drive it out at once if any accidentally happens to come in. The members of the 'Kunjam' (she-rat) clan revere the rat and abstain from killing it. The 'Nabalia' (dwarf date-palm) Dhruwa clan do not cut a dwarf date palm nor eat its fruit. Among this clan, as will be shown afterwards, the totem developed into an anthromorphic deity with the plant symbol.

Some of the clans in the Betul district¹⁷ likewise observe certain taboos in respect of their totems. The members of the 'Kohkapath' clan (*Kohka*=fruit of the marking-nut tree, and *path*=kid) do not eat the fruit or flower of the marking-nut tree¹⁸ as they believe that their first ancestor worshipped his gods under that tree and offered a kid to them. The 'Admachi' (the *Dhaura* tree) clan abstain from cutting this tree and avoid burning its wood too. They ascribe the origin

¹⁴ District Gazetteer, Raipur. P. 106.

¹⁵ Russel & Hiralal, Vol. III, Pages 67-68.

¹⁶ In the Marathi-speaking districts this name is pronounced as 'Madavi' (माडवी)

¹⁷ Russell and Hiralal, *op. cit.*, Vol. III PP. 68-70.

¹⁸ *Semicarpus anacardium*.

of their totemic name to the fact that their ancestor worshipped their gods under the ‘Dhaura’ tree. The members of the *Tekam* (teak tree) clan say that their ancestor had his gods in a teak tree ; they simply do not eat food off teak leaves, but use them for thatching. They, however, do not feel any scruples in cutting this tree. The ‘Baghmar’, (tiger) Uika clan abstain from killing a tiger ¹⁹. The members of the ‘Tumdan’ (a kind of gourd) Uika clan, though they drink water out of a gourd, do not carry it outside. So also the ‘Tumrecha’ Uika (Tendu tree) clan abstain from cutting a Tendu tree ; nor do they make any use of its leaves or branches ; as already pointed out before, they eat Tendu fruit.

The members of the ‘Eti-Kumra’ clan do not kill a goat nor do they eat its flesh. They do not sacrifice it to the gods either. The tradition regarding the origin of not eating or sacrificing it to the gods, is that a Kumra clansman used to steal children from neighbouring villages and cut them up to offer their blood to his ‘Pen’ (God). The villagers once suspected him of stealing a child for sacrifice. They reached the place of the worship just after he had finished his bloody sacrifice. He had kept the dead body covered with a basket. On being demanded that it should be removed to see what lay underneath, the Kumra man prayed to his gods to save him. The basket was removed and the head and legs of a goat were found. All Kumra men were delighted and from that

¹⁹ Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I *Glossary* P. 344.

day they left eating goat's flesh.²⁰ In this story, the reverence for the totem is explained, as often happens, by the service which the totemic animal is said to have rendered to the ancestor of the clan.

The 'Eti-kumra' clan in the Nagpur plains observe certain taboos in respect of the goat. The clansmen abstain from killing the animal, and any article of food or drink touched by it is thrown away. The Uika clan in the Bhandārā District believe themselves to be related to the tiger. They avoid killing the animal. They say that their ancestor was suckled by the tigress (Rai Baghin). Their old men believe that the tiger, because of this relationship, will not harm them. In one of the Gond villages in the Nagpur district I found certain relics of totemism. In that village the members of the 'Wadkada' (Banian tree) clan do not cut the tree after which the clan is named; nor do they take food off banyan leaves. The old men believe themselves to be connected with the tree, but in what way they do not know. Individuals of the 'Irtpachi' (Mahua tree) clan are not allowed by their long-standing custom to take food off the new *mahua* (*Bassia Latifolia*) leaves till they have offered their sacrifice on the leaves of this tree to their Bāḍa Deo in the month of Vaishākh (May).

The 'Sayam' (Porcupine) clan will neither kill nor tease their totemic animal. The animal is respected by them as their god. They also do not take food off banyan leaves nor do they eat

²⁰ Trench, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. II, pp-42-43. (Russell mentions that the boy was of Brahmin Caste.)

anything prepared on these leaves. They observe some other taboos; their women do not put on black 'sāris'; they neither sell nor purchase a black bullock. The 'Masram' and 'Kangali' clans observe all the totem taboos observed by the 'Sayam' clan. The respect paid to the porcupine appears to be a relic of the phratric totem, an account of which will be given later on. The 'Sayam', 'Masram' and 'Kangali' clans belong to the 'Sat-devi' phratry of which the phratric totem is porcupine.

There are certain clans which observe disconnected totem taboos. The

**Disconnected
Taboos.**

'Por-tai' (Basket) Uika clan in

Betul district do not kill the tiger or the crocodile. The 'Path-mukh' (Head of a kid) clan, though named after the head of a kid, offer a young goat to their gods, but abstain from killing a bear ²¹.

In the 'Por-tai' clan, we may suspect the fusion of two totemic clans—the tiger and the crocodile. After forming the union the amalgated clan might have taken a different clan-name, each retaining at the same time its individual totem animal as an object of adoration and reverence. The union naturally led them to respect each other's totem; this resulting ultimately in the united clan regarding these two animals as sacred to them. There is another thing also we have to take note of. 'Por-tai' (Basket) seems to be a mere totemic clan-name, and it being an artificial object must have been adopted at a much later stage; for in the original totemic

²¹ Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I P. 399.

system we meet very rarely with an artificial object as totem. In the case of the 'Path-mukh' clan it is very difficult to reconcile two things found in juxtaposition. The clansmen offer the animal (Bear) the head of which is their totem, to their gods and abstain from killing the animal, which has apparently no connection with their clan-name. In all probability this is an example of the clan having a split totem united with the clan having the 'Bear' totem; but the information at our disposal is not definite as to whether the members of the 'Path-mukh' clan abstain from eating the head of a kid sacrificed to their gods. The members of the 'Watka' (stone) clan in the Betul district worship five stones as their gods and abstain from eating goat. The tradition regarding the origin of the totemic name is this that 'the first ancestors were young boys who forgot where the place for their god's worship was and therefore set up five stones and offered a chicken to them'. Because of their failure to offer the usual sacrifice of a goat, they say, they do not eat goat. The tradition has been, it seems, devised to account for the practice already there. The 'Manapa' (Father-and-son) clan, titular in name, observe taboos in respect of the goat. They, too, do not kill or eat it. Their ancestors, the clansmen say, once sacrificed a Brâhmañ father and son to their gods, and when they were on the point of being caught, were miraculously saved in the same way in which the men of the 'Eti-Kumra' clan were saved. Another clan, titular in name, that observes the customary totem taboo, is the 'Batti' (Balls of cooked Mahua).

The clansmen do not kill or eat a goat or a sheep. They will throw away anything smelt or touched by these animals. The clan is so named because, it is said, their priest stole balls of cooked *mahuā*. Instances of such disconnected totem taboos are found in the Raipur district also. At Mungikota, it was discovered that the 'Markam' and 'Kunjam' clans of the Dhur Gonds observed the taboos in respect of the goat almost in the same way in which the 'Manapa' and 'Batti' clans observe them.

The observance of the disconnected taboos in the above cases should be carefully distinguished from those observed by the totemic and other clans in the Chāndā district, where because of the decay of the clan totems, only phratric totems survive.

In the Bhopal State,²² it is reported, certain Gond clans observe totem taboos. One clan does not touch a horse or mare, and another a goat. In the Rewa State, too, the Gonds possess some totemic clans and, to the North of the Kaimur, the Gonds are even divided according to the number of gods worshipped.

So far I have examined the attitude of a man to his totem that results from his social relationship to it. This relationship and the attitude that results therefrom, belong to a later phase of totemism. In Australia, where perhaps we find totemism in much of its pure and primitive form, the custom of abstaining from killing the

²² *Census Report, Central India Agency, 1931, Part I, p. 232.*

totem is more recent than that of freely eating it.²³ The savage, in order to strengthen his corporeal relationship to his totem, may kill and eat his totem animal or plant, the underlying belief being that 'his bodily substance partakes of the nature of the food that he eats and that accordingly he becomes in a very real sense the animal whose flesh he consumes or the plants whose roots or fruits he may masticate and swallow'.²⁴

Gond society passed beyond the totemic stage at such a distant past that we may hope to get only a few relics of the stage of totemic development that they had reached. In the rituals observed at the worship of the 'Nāg Deo' (Cobra god) which is nothing but a totem god evolved out of the original Cobra totem, we find some relics of the earlier phase of totemism. In the month of Āshārh (July) the first month of the rainy season when snakes habitually appear, the Gond kills a cobra and after cutting off its head and tail offers them to the 'Nāg Deo,' a figure of which he draws in mud on one of the posts of his house. The Gonds cook and eat the body of the cobra. It is their belief that the eating of the cobra's body will protect them from the effects of eating any poisonous substance during the year.²⁵

²³ Frazer, Vol. IV, P. 7. 'Among the Australian aborigines it was the older custom, since it has been retained by more primitive tribes in the centre of the continent while it has been completely abandoned by more advanced tribes near to the sea who strictly abstain from eating their totems'.

²⁴ Frazer, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 6.

²⁵ Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III, p. 101.

This observance of the Gonds would appear to be a relic of that stage of totemic development in which the Gond savage killed and ate his totem to identify himself physically with it. Their belief that they would be protected from the effect of eating any poisonous substance through eating the snake's body is in accordance with the savage's notion that the bodily substance of man partakes of the nature of the food he eats; and so, to become completely one with this totem, the men of the Cobra clan ceremonially eat their totemic reptile during the month when it frequently appears. Although it cannot be definitely asserted that magic preceded religion or that, *paripassu* with intellectual and moral development, religion developed out of totemism, in the case of these Gonds we find that the Cobra totem evolved into the Cobra god ('Nāg Deo') and became the subject of adoration and worship which took more or less the same form as the totemic ritual by which the Gond savage, in his primitive past, probably sought to identify himself with his totem. But the relation in which these Gonds stood to their totem must have been one of equality and not that of god and worshipper in which they stand to-day. The worship in the beginning must have been confined to the Cobra clan only and it gradually extended to the other clans and sub-tribes.

There is another piece of evidence at our disposal which may throw some light on the nature of the totemism that might have prevailed among the Gond savage in the totemic society of the distant past. Lieutenant Prendergast in his account written in 1820 A. D. states that

he had discovered a community of Gonds who were cannibals. The tribe resided in the hill of Amarkantak and, to the south-east, in the Gondwana country and held very little intercourse with the villagers and never went among them except to barter or purchase provisions. His further account²⁶ runs thus :—

"This race live in detached parties and seldom have more than eight or ten huts in one place. They are cannibals in the real sense of the word, but never eat the flesh of any person not belonging to their own family or tribe; nor do they do this except on particular occasions. It is the custom of this singular people to cut the throat of any person of their family who is attacked by severe illness and who they think has no chance of recovering, when they collect the whole of their relations and friends and feast upon the body. In like manner when a person arrives at a great age and becomes feeble and weak, the Halalkhor operates upon him, when the different members of the family assemble for the same purpose as above stated. In other respects this is a simple race of people, nor do they consider cutting the throats of their sick relations or aged parents any sin,—but, on the contrary, an act acceptable to Kālī, a blessing to their relatives and a mercy to their whole race."

We also learn from Herodotus²⁷ who wrote about India in the middle of the fifth century B.C., that there lived a people called 'Padaeans' towards the east of Sindh who were 'rovers and eaters of raw flesh.' He says that among these people members of the tribe were killed on the approach of old age and eaten by their fellow-

²⁶ Quoted by Wilson in 'Indian Caste,' I, P. 325; also quoted in the *Asiatic Journal*, New Series, V (1831), P. 161.

²⁷ Herodotus III, quoted in *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, P. 395.

tribesmen. These ‘Padaeans’ about whom Herodotus wrote were in all probability the Gonds. E. W. Hopkins, too, without referring to any authority, wrote in *The Religions of India*²⁸ about the Gonds as follows:—“The uncivilized Gonds of the table-lands are said still to cut up and eat their aged relatives and friends, not to speak of strangers unfortunate enough to fall into their hands.”

The above account of E. W. Hopkins, though it corroborates that of Lieutenant Prendergast in the major details, might have been based on the account of the latter and as such it cannot be taken as an authority, especially when we do not know the authority he has drawn upon. However, some of the practices prevalent amongst the Māñjis and the Khairwārs, offshoots²⁹ of the Gond tribe, give support to the prevalence of the practice mentioned above. The Māñjis inhabiting the wild and remote stretch of the Korba Zamindari, in the Bilāspur district, have the reputation of having been cannibals in the past. It is said that they fancied the flesh of old people, for these being of ‘ripe’ age (*pāk gayā*) were most naturally ‘plucked and eaten’.³⁰ Russell mentions a curious custom reported of the Khairwārs of the Bilāspur district. It is said that amongst these people “children cut a small piece of flesh from the finger of a dead parent and

²⁸ P. 527

²⁹ W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of N. W. P. and Oudh*, Vol. II, P. 431. See Russell and Hiralal, Vol. III, Pp. 430-31 for Khairwār, and Vol. IV, P. 150.

³⁰ *Bilaspur District, Gazetteer*, P. 323

swallow it, considering this as a requital for the labour of the mother in having carried the child for nine months in her womb".³¹

From the preceding account it would not be unreasonable to deduce that some sort of practice connected with eating the flesh of the dead or aged relation prevailed among the Gond savages in the distant past. The account of Lieutenant Prendergast, however, cannot be taken as accurate in all respects. In the absence of definite information we are not in a position to know whether there was any ritual connected with the practice of eating the flesh or whether there was any order in which the different relations partook of the flesh of their dead relatives. His account simply tells us that the Gonds ate the flesh of the dead or dying members of their family or tribe on certain occasions and that they killed those relatives who had attained great age and had become feeble, and also those who were sick and had no chance of recovery.

A somewhat similar account of the tribes of the South-West Victoria, is given by Mr. James Dawson. He writes :—

"There is not the slightest doubt that eating of human flesh is practised by the aborigines but only as mark of affectionate respect, in solemn service of mourning for their dead. The flesh of an enemy is never eaten, nor of members of other tribes. The bodies of relatives of either sex who have lost their lives by violence are alone partaken of ; and even then only if the body

³¹ Russell and Hiralal, Vol III, P. 433.

is not mangled or unhealthy or in poor condition or in a putrified state. The body is divided among the adult relatives with the exception of nursing or pregnant women. On remarking to the aborigines that the eating of the whole of the flesh of a dead body by the relatives had the appearance of making a meal of it, they said that an ordinary-sized body afforded to each of numerous adult relatives only a mere tasting, and that it was eaten with no desire to gratify or appease the appetite but only as a symbol of respect and regret for the dead."³²

The custom of eating the bodies of the dead relations is reported to be prevalent among some other tribes also; the motives assigned to this practice vary in different cases.³³

What must be the motive which induced the Gond savages to eat the bodies of their aged or sick relatives? Surely it was not sheer hunger as it was amongst some of the Australian tribes who used to eat their children.³⁴ They would eat the flesh of their relatives on certain occasions only. On the analogy of the Australian custom reported by Mr. James Dawson, whose account has been quoted before, one might be inclined to conclude that they ate the flesh of their relatives as a mark of respect and affection. But the fact that they operated upon them whilst alive goes against any such conclusion. Their eating of the dead relatives becomes intelligible only on the assumption that they wanted to preserve the life, regarded as incarnate in the body and

³² J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, P. 67.

³³ See Frazer, *Op. Cit.* Vol. IV pp. 260-67.

³⁴ The Kaura tribe near Adelaide, and the Mungerra tribe in Queensland (*Frazer, Op. Cit.* Vol. IV. pp. 261-62).

blood of the dead kinsmen, within the circle of the kin. They operated upon him while alive, it seems, because they did not want his life to go out of his body which they wanted to absorb through eating his flesh.³⁵

Whatever might be the motive that induced the Gond savage to eat the bodies of their relatives, the custom at a later stage must have rested on their belief in their corporeal relationship to their tētenis. Originally, they might be eating their human relations in order to maintain and strengthen their physical tie with themselves and to absorb the life of the relation so as to identify themselves with the deceased kinsman between whom and their totem they made no distinction in the primitive stage of totemism. This was certainly because of their thinking chiefly of their corporeal relationship to their totem which they identified with their kinsfolk.

This trait of primitive totemism seems to have lingered on in the Amarkantak Hills and other wild and remote tracts of the Gond country because of the absence of their contact with civilized races; and it is significant to note that magic, an invariable attendant of pure totemism, plays a great part in the life of the backward people in this locality even now. The Chhattisgarhis are supposed to be past masters in the black art.

³⁵ "The idea of the Gonds in eating the bodies of their relatives would be to assimilate the lives of those as it were, and cause them to be reborn as children in their own families. Possibly they ate the bodies of their parents as many races ate the bodies of animal gods in order to obtain their divine virtues and qualities." (Russell and Hiralal, Vol. III. P. 115.)

The Gonds, it appears from the above, once used to eat their totem animals and plants in order to maintain their corporeal relationship with them. We may also infer that in the primitive days of their savagery they ate their human relations from the same motive.

The older practice in course of time was abandoned as a result of the growing regard for the social, and the growing disregard for the corporeal, side of the totemic bond. This change of outlook naturally resulted in a more humane and considerate treatment of their totems and they declined to kill and eat their totemic animals or plants. This new attitude of the savage is invariably a mark of a comparative refinement of nature as it is kindlier, less crude and cruel to the totem which he identified with his kinsfolk than the older attitude. Fixing attention on the social rather than on the corporeal relationship to one's totem is a change for the better and indicates an advance in culture and a step towards civilization and religion proper.³⁶

Fusion of certain totemic clans seems to have

Fusion of totemic clans. taken place among the Gonds. We have already noted some of the clans which observe disconnected totem taboos. The 'Por-tai' (Basket) clan do not kill tigers and crocodiles, and this fact leads us to the inference that this double taboo arose after the fusion of the tiger and the crocodile clans. Similarly the taboos observed by the

³⁶ Frazer *Op Cit.*, vol IV Pp. 7-8

'Path-mukh' (Head of a kid) clan, e. g. prohibition to kill a bear, makes us suspect in this clan, too, fusion of the two clans—namely, the Bear and the Kid or Goat.

The crest of the Gond royal family at Chāndā which is composed of the winged tiger and the elephant can be explained satisfactorily if we see in it traces of the fusion of different clans. The family belongs to the 'Sahadeve' (Six-gods-worshipping) phratry and the clan-name is Ātrām (आत्राम). The phratric totem of the 'Sahadeve' phratry is the Tiger. The crest might have been originally a totem badge of the three united clans the Tiger, the Elephant and one other having a bird totem. The meaning of 'Ātrām' is obscure and cannot be ascertained as none of the Gonds knows it. Whatever be the meaning, the composition of the crest leads us to infer that in the 'Ātrām' clan we may find a fusion of the three clans, the most important and leading among them being the tiger clan. This view would appear to be confirmed by the fact that it is the 'Ātrām' clan of this Sahadeve phratry that rose to ascendancy and, as will be pointed out subsequently, the phratric totems that exist among the Gonds of the Chāndā District were once the clan totems of the leading clans in the phratries.

The fusion of more than one clan may be discovered in some of the clans that have cross-totems³⁷ as their

³⁷ A cross totem oversteps the limits of a single natural species and include under itself several species. A split totem is a part of an animal or plant. A cross-split totem is neither a whole animal or plant or a part or a particular species of animal or plant but a particular part of all (or of a number of species of) animals or plants. (Frazer, Vol. I, P. 14)

clan-names. An account of the totemic taboos observed by some of such clans has already been given.

-- We also get split totems among the Gonds. A few of them have been given in **split and cross-Split totems.** the list. These are 'Pānja' (Paw of an animal), 'Purouti' (or 'Pudoti') (Bowels), 'Mandani'³⁸ (Female organ of generation), Path-mukh (Head of a kid), and 'Sarsūn' (Blade of Corn). The information at our disposal in regard to these totem clans being scanty, we cannot come to any definite conclusion with regard to their origin. It is possible, as suggested by Sir J. G. Frazer, that they might have 'arisen by the segmentation of a single original clan each of which had a whole animal for its totem into a number of clans, each of which took the name either of a part of the original animal or of a sub-species of it'.³⁹ We may conjecture that this may have been the origin of the various clans having different species of hawk as their totems, e.g. 'Baisia', 'Chincham', and 'Pori' of the Chhattisgarh country.

(To be continued.)

³⁸ The tradition regarding the origin of this clan-name in the Betul District is that the ancestor of this clan slept with his wife in the 'Deo-khulla'. (Russell and Hirālal, Vol. III page 70).

³⁹ Frazer; Vol. I, page 58.

II - THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE POOR AND THE PARIĀH.*

By

Professor BENOV KUMAR SARKAR, Dr. h. c.

I. Creativeness of the Poor.

I have only one message and that is the message of hope, and my hope is grounded in the realities of the past and the present.

If you ask me what I know of the world in the East and the West and what I have seen of mankind as it is and has been I should reply in one word—that the world belongs to the poor man. It is the poor man who rules the world. It is the poor man that has always conquered the world. This appears to be a most absurd statement. Nothing should seem to be more silly than a remark like this. And yet nothing is to me truer, more real and more objective as an account of the affairs of men and women.

The absurdity of my position might indeed seem to be patent on the surface. Everybody in the two Hemispheres is too painfully aware that it is the man with means that lords it over in the marketplace. The moneyed man commands the press and the platform in Asia as in Eur-America. The financial magnate passes for an authority in everything from the paddy-field to the canals in the Mars. The high-salaried government official cannot be challenged by anybody in

* Lecture delivered at the Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Society, Dhanbad, on April 20, 1940.

regard to questions of any kind,—moral, social or religious. Even in political life leadership can be commanded only by the man who possesses several automobiles as well as the sinews of war to maintain a bunch of sycophants. Apparently the world—mankind's morals, manners and sentiments—the arts and sciences—all should appear to be controlled and commandeered by wealth.

In spite of this much too palpable dictatorship of money and the easily visible domination of the world by the rich, I maintain that the men and women who are guiding the world, directing the masses and the classes along fresh and untrodden paths, dragging mankind willy-nilly to the next higher stages of its potentialities, and establishing new socio-cultural and spiritual patterns for to-day and to-morrow are those who are poor. My view of human progress and social advance is thus entirely opposed to the apparent, the obvious and the visible.

Does the poor man require to be described ? I do not believe he does. Everybody present here knows the poor man. Neither in Bihār nor in Bengal nor in the rest of India do we need to define poverty. But still let me be precise. The poor man is a man who does not have two meals a day. In my expressive Bengali the poor men and women are persons who *ādh-petā khāy*, i. e., 'eat half-stomachs'. Or they are the persons who do not *du belā āñchāy* i. e. 'cannot rinse their mouths twice a day'. They are half-fed,

semi-naked, unhoused people. If this picture of poverty should appear to be too realistic, nay, too tragic to certain temperaments, let me satisfy them by declaring that the poor man is a person whose earnings are too modest to be *pakrāoed* (caught) by the Income Tax Commissioner. Such persons are to be found in thousands, in millions, not only in Bihār, in Bengal, in India, but in every country of the world, including the richest regions, e. g., Great Britain, the U. S. A., France, and Germany. My observation is that the world has ever been governed by persons who come from such classes. It is the ill-fed, ill-clad and ill-housed classes, communities or families, it is the non-income-tax-paying groups of citizens in a country that have ever been the sources of men and women who have re-made the world and reconstructed society. The role of poor men as the re-makers of mankind and creators of epochs in culture is to me the most palpable truth, the first postulate of history, economics, philosophy and sociology. This is, in my appraisal, the solidest foundation of the science of progress and the art of human betterment.

I am talking to-night in a town of Bihār. So by way of illustration I should ask you to verify my postulate or examine its validity and worth by an enumeration of the leading men and women of Bihār to-day. There are quite a few prominent persons in contemporary Bihār. How many of them do you recognize as genuinely creative persons, as the makers of Bihāri ideals,

and the founders of a new age for Bihāri men and women ? Naturally, you will first have to make out a list of the well-known persons in politics, in law courts, in business and in culture. You will have to list the highly placed officials in the administrative systems, including the legislature. Then you are sure to count the authors and journalists, poets, novelists, painters, sculptors, musicians, playwrights. Some of them are perhaps known as scientists, philosophers or antiquarians. You are not likely to ignore the researchers in industry, technology, the exact sciences and the humanities. The religious missionaries and social reformers are not to be excluded by any means. Last but not the least, your list will care to include the politicians, young and old, of all parties, communities and denominations, the labour leaders, the *kishān* leaders, the trade unionists, and all groups of martyrs for political freedom and social justice.

In the next place, I should ask you to go into the biographical details about those leading men and women of Bihār in the most diverse professions and occupations. This biography is to be confined for the present purpose to the economic and financial items of their lives. The most important question about all of them is about the level of their present incomes. How much do they earn to-day ? You would not be disclosing any tremendous secrets of socio-economic life if you were to come out with the proposition that as "gainfully employed" persons those

leading men and women of Bihār fall mainly into two classes. The first and the most preponderant class comprises those who, if not actually *ādhpetā khāwā* or 'half-meal-takers', are at any rate non-income-tax-payers. The other class, a very small group indeed, belongs to the somewhat substantial classes in so far as they can be reached by the Income Tax Commissioner.

These "somewhat substantial" persons may be further analyzed in an intensive manner. You know quite well from personal experience, those of you who have watched the economic development in Bihār since the beginning of the present century, that many of the persons who are "somewhat substantial" in earnings to-day were outside of, i. e. below that class even ten, fifteen or twenty years ago. Many of the richest businessmen, industrialists, lawyers, medical practitioners, and members of the different government services were not members of the "somewhat substantial" groups at the commencement of their careers. A very large number among them was actually poor and in straitened circumstances. Very many of these influential and substantial Bihāris of to-day are self-made men in the strictest sense of the term. These facts about the antecedents and previous careers of the leaders and prominent personalities are open secrets, if secrets at all they be. You should not misunderstand me. I do not vouch that not a single person among the substantial lawyers, doctors, bankers, intellectuals, government servants, etc., was finan-

cially substantial in his childhood or youth. You are simply to take it that the number of rich families that have contributed to the prosperous persons of to-day is very very small, so small that it may be virtually ignored.

I shall now ask you to go a little bit further back in time. Make inquiries about the parents of those substantial persons of to-day. How many fathers of such men were substantial ? Then, again, what about their grandfathers and great-grandfathers ? You will be convinced that, say, about 1857 the ancestors of most of the prominent and prosperous citizens of to-day were persons of very modest means and humble in every economic sense.

The majority of the leading men of Bihār at the present moment is poor. Of the minority a preponderantly large proportion was poor half a generation ago and of course two generations ago. It is very difficult to point to many leaders of Bihāri public life, business and culture who have been prosperous for two generations or more. The rôle of the poor men as the factual rulers of mankind in ideas, ideals, movements and activities is, then, demonstrated by the history of our own times so far as Bihār is concerned. Whatever is being accomplished in Bihār to-day in politics, industry, science, culture, social reform, religious reconstruction,—in materialism and spirituality,—is being accomplished in the main by the sons of clerks, farmers, schoolmasters, etc.,—

the poorer sections of the Bihāri people. It is the poor that have made Bihār and are re-making Bihār with a view to further progress.

I have spoken so much about Bihār because I am talking in a town of Bihār. But I am not unconscious of the presence of Bengalī men and women in this meeting. What about Bengal ? I should advise you to institute the same inquiries about the leading personalities of contemporary Bengal. Most of the profoundly creative men and women of Bengal to-day do not know how to make both ends meet. The poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, journalists, school- and college-teachers, political preachers, labour-organizers, social workers, research scholars in the natural and social sciences, and so forth are certainly the makers of new epochs in Bengalī culture and world-progress. Is it not notorious that most of the members of these creative classes are indigent, miserable, pauperized ?

Among the somewhat prosperous Bengalīs in the legal profession, medical practice, service or business you will find nothing but a repetition of the story of the Bihāris. The earnings of the fathers of most of these prosperous Bengalīs of to-day were, generally speaking, humble. Very many of them have come from poor families, sometimes so poor that hardly anybody knows anything of their parents. The fathers of some of them were cooks and the mothers maid-servants. How many of the financially substantial Bengalīs of 1940 were substantial at the time of the

glorious *Swadeshi* revolution in 1905 ? An exceedingly large number was actually poor. Their fathers were poorer and their grandfathers perhaps poorer still. Most of such Bengalis as are earning thousands at the Bar, in the medical profession and in the services or have become millionaires and owners of properties on account of business success were not born with silver spoons in their mouths. In Bengal as in Bihār, the poor man of to-day is the rich man of to-morrow, although not invariably. You do not have to go out of your own geographical horizon into far-off Eur-America to cite instances of rich men emerging out of distress, misery and poverty,—from thatched cots and mud floors. The polities, industry, science, art, literature, religion, morals and philosophy,—in one word, the entire culture—of Young Bengal, is in the main the creation of its poorer representatives. It is the poor that have conquered Bengal and are conquering Bengal in order to push it forward to the enterprises of world-wide expansion. Bengali clerks, peasants, artisans and shopkeepers of low pecuniary status have contributed to a large number of the epoch-making stalwarts of politics, commerce and culture.

While asking you to make an inventory of the leading men of Bihār and Bengal I have made no distinction between profession and profession or occupation and occupation in regard to their creative values. I have proceeded on the assumption that distinguished leaders are to be found in every walk of life and that all are to

be treated as creative. One may easily challenge my orientations and question the validity of this stand-point. Is it possible, it may be asked, to treat the administrator, the lawyer, the medical practitioner as creative in the same sense as the novelist, the painter, the scientific researcher, the technical or industrial inventor, the philosopher and so forth ? Is it proper to maintain that the creative values of the scientist, the discoverer, the industrial expert are of the same rank as those of the capitalist or the employer who exploits the technical or other intelligentsia with a dole or a pittance ? It may be questioned likewise if the school or college teacher is as creative as the man who is making investigations in the arts or sciences, conducting researches in philosophy, history, etc., or the story-writer, the poet and the dramatist ?

Who can assert that the sincere political agitator who consecrates his life to the enfranchisement of the people, the genuine labour-organizer who is bent upon raising the standard of living of the working classes, the social reformer who is fighting for the establishment of equality between the races, the classes and the castes, the religious missionary who is carrying from home to home the message of the dignity of man and brotherhood in inter-human relations,—these embodiments of creative disequilibrium and apostles of liberty, progress and radical reform,—are but of the same worth and significance as the administrator, the judge, the lawyer, the banker, the factory-

magnate, the professor and the medical doctor, all well-fed and well-groomed persons absorbed in the vested interests and addicted to the *status quo* ?

And finally, who is prepared to vouch that the plans, projects or movements initiated or developed by the official heads of industrial, commercial or banking establishments, government services, educational institutions, etc., are their own creations, i. e., have come out of their own brains, and that their subordinates, lieutenants, private secretaries, literary assistants, clerks, *mistris*, research committees or technical laboratories have not had the lion's share,—although without recognition and adequate financial remuneration—in the inauguration, planning and execution of the ideas for which the bosses get the credit in public life ?

These fine distinctions have been consciously ignored by me in connection with my present discussion. I have tried simply to emphasize, in the first place, that no matter what be the profession or occupation, Bengal like Bihar possesses a number of distinguished personalities who are usually known as leaders of the country,—political, industrial, cultural and social. In the second place, it has been brought home that among such persons the majority are from the view-point of Rupees-annas-pies very modest and humble, i.e. poor. And if some of them do not happen to be poor at the moment of consideration they were poor while they were in their teens and even

thirties. Some of them were charity-boys at school and college. They worked their way up with stipends or contributions in meals or fees. And, further, the ancestors of these rich and distinguished men during the previous two generations were in very many instances much poorer. They were clerks, peasants, and petty shopkeepers or artisans and the like.

Poverty can therefore be no excuse for pessimism, despondency and inactivity. It is the poor that have conquered in the past and it is the poor that bid fair to conquer in the present. My futurism declares the prospects of world-conquests by the poor. Let me be perfectly clear and definite in my pronouncement. Bengali society and culture to-day are not being governed by the millionaire of the modern capitalistic bourgeoisie type, by the feudalistic zamindari aristocracy, or by the higher rungs of the administrative bureaucracy, although certain members of these groups are often in evidence through newspapers and public functions. The men and women who have conquered the hearts and heads of the Bengali people, who have been rendering Bengal and Bengali culture a world-force, and by whom the Bengali people is slowly but steadily being lifted to the level of a power among the powers of mankind are the *ādhpejā khāwā* (half-mealer), non-income-tax-paying, poverty-stricken people, the children of clerks, peasants and artisans, born and bred in mud-hovels and under leaking thatched roofs.

Perhaps you are suspecting that I am a believer in the blessings of poverty, and hold a brief for the present social order of inequalities, economic and political. Nothing is farther from my attitude. I am not waxing eloquent on poverty's sweet uses. It does not belong to my science or art to sing of poverty. I do not consider poverty to be a blessing. No! Poverty is by all means a curse and the poor man is not a blessed creature. There is nothing to be proud of or glorify in poverty. The despotism of the richer classes is to be combated in every way. What I have been stressing all this time is that poverty is a tremendous social fact and a fact that cannot be overlooked. Perhaps it is an eternal fact. At any rate, it is a universal fact of the human world. But at the same time it so happens that creativeness is very widely distributed in the zones of poverty. The majority of the creative personalities of mankind, of men and women who generate the streams of evolutive disequilibrium in arts and sciences, industry and politics, social order and economic structure is to be found among the economically poorer specimens of humanity. It is this statistical fact to which I have been inviting your attention all this time. And this is a historical fact as well,

Statistical and historical data about this social fact have been indicated or rather hinted at about Bihar and Bengal. The subject is extensive enough for voluminous scientific researches. You will find similar statistical and historical data for England,

France, Germany, Japan, America and other regions. It is a universal phenomenon. Perhaps one should call it a tragedy or paradox of civilization or world-progress that creativeness or the spirituality of creativeness should be intimately associated with poverty or relative doses of poverty. Not every poor man indeed is creative. Nor, again, is every creative man poor. But a very significant proportion of the creatively spiritual or spiritually creative personalities of mankind here and there and everywhere has been found flourishing among the poorer classes. The children of unknown persons, of men and women without means have turned out to be world-conquerors. The immediate future of Bengal, India, the world, entire mankind, belongs therefore to the poor man. It is the poor that are expected to conquer and govern the world.

2. The Pāriah's Contributions to Brahman Flesh and Blood.

About the so-called inferior classes I have a rather peculiar pronouncement to make. This is to the effect that the world has always been considerably conquered by the pāriāh and that mankind to-day is also being conquered by the pāriāh on an appreciable scale. Coming nearer home, our Bihār and Bengal, nay, All-India has likewise been ever more or less ruled by the pāriāh. It is the pāriāh that has been governing to a great extent the culture and civilization as well as the physique and the hands and feet of the Indian people through the ages. The creative achievements of

the pāriāhs in India are continuing their career still.

The category, pāriāh, requires to be defined like the category "poor",—nay, perhaps more than the latter category. The pāriāhs are, of course, the men and the women who belong to the caste known as pāriāh in South India. More or less similar castes are to be found throughout India,—north, south, east, west. They are not called 'pāriāh' everywhere. There are other terms for these classes. But my category, pāriāh, comprises all such classes without distinction. In contemporary Indian terminology they are described sometimes as 'depressed', often as 'untouchable', now-a-days as 'Harijan' and so forth. Whatever be the nomenclature,—I need not go into details,—we know that they all have to submit to social repression of some sort or other. There is a stigma—no matter of what degree—attaching to their very name. In inter-human relations they have to bear an indignity which, although not always precisely definable, is none the less ever perceptible both to themselves as well as to the alleged superior orders. In one word, we may describe them as the social inferiors. The inferiority is of all doses and degrees, and varies in quality, quantity and variety. Unless one belongs to the socially inferior group one cannot experience or fully explain exactly the kind of indignity or the dose of inferiority under which one has to live. Perhaps it is the Brāhmaṇ caste that alone can claim superiority in the Hindu social system, and every non-Brāhmaṇ is more or less tinged

with some hue of inferiority or pāriāhdom. In my conception of the pāriāh, i. e., the untouchable, and the repressed, I take in every Hindu who does not belong to the Brāhmaṇ caste. The Brāhmaṇs are just a few millions in the entire Hindu population of India. You will understand, then, that virtually almost every Hindu is a pāriāh in my estimation.

And here I should ask you to recall my definition of the poor man. There are poor men and poor men. Poverty is not absolute. It can be measured by doses and degrees. But for the purposes of the present talk I characterized the poor man in one or two graphic features. The poor man is a person who does not eat more than half a meal or cannot rinse his mouth twice a day, or a person who is not in the class of Income-Tax-paying citizens. The poor, then, constitute the majority of the inhabitants of every country. I am taking the pāriāh also in the same extensive manner when I say that every non-Brāhmaṇ is a pāriāh. There are certainly non-Brāhmaṇs and non-Brāhmaṇs. Not every non-Brāhmaṇ suffers the same amount or variety of indignity in social life. Even among the non-Brāhmaṇs themselves, there are hundreds, nay, thousands of higher and lower groups. There are the superior non-Brāhmaṇs and the inferior non-Brāhmaṇs. Among the inferior non-Brāhmaṇs, again, there are the higher and the lower, i. e., the superior and the inferior sub-orders. My 'pāriāh' is an omnibus category describing all the

most diverse degrees and doses of social inferiority known to the Hindus just as my category, 'poor', comprises the most diverse grades and forms of economic inadequacy known to mankind. If I were to include the Mussalmans of India in my survey I should perhaps include all the Momins in my pāriāhdom. The non-Brāhmaṇs are then the pāriāhs for my present talk.

You may at once challenge my classification so far, at any rate, as the Brāhmaṇ is concerned. It is questionable, for instance, if I have the right to describe the entire Brāhmaṇ caste even in a single province or district as a homogeneous social group. Are not there many persons of the Brāhmaṇ caste who are treated as inferiors by certain members of the same caste? It is too notorious that not all Brāhmaṇs enjoy the same social privilege, dignity or rank as between themselves. Even among the Brāhmaṇs we must, then, be prepared to demarcate a group or groups of pāriāhs, i. e., depressed, oppressed or repressed classes. Thus considered, the number of pāriāhs in India rises to still higher proportions.

My message to-night, then, is as follows. It is the non-Brāhmaṇ and the inferior among the Brāhmaṇs as well as the Momins that have been substantially creating the physique and the culture of the Indian Hindus and Mussalmans from the earliest times. India to-day is being ruled in considerable proportions by just these inferiors, the social outcastes. The valuable rôle of these social inferiors and outcastes in India to-morrow as some

of the re-makers of Indian polities, industry, society, mores, and civilization in addition to physique and hands, and feet is the pivotal conclusion of my studies in the relations between the races, castes, classes and other groups of Indian population.

Take any University Calendar in India and read the names of the passes at the lower and higher examinations. The non-Brāhmans are sure everywhere to make a decent show. The dictatorship of the Brāhmaṇ caste is not a fact of academic life. In proportion to the total population, the non-Brāhmaṇ's academic importance is quite decent. The numerical importance of the non-Brāhmans in the school and college atmosphere has been steadily on the increase. And this increase is being experienced by all grades of pāriāhs or Harijans down to the lowest, the actually depressed, and the physically 'untouchable' classes. The industrial and commercial life of Bihar and Bengal will tell the same story of the gradually expanding position of the pāriāh. In the services, the pāriāhs of all denominations are encountered in increasing numbers. The arts and sciences, cultural activities, journalism, political and labour movements are likewise not the fields in which the non-pāriāh can venture to dictate. The growing ascendancy of the non-Brāhmaṇ in Indian scientific and philosophical researches, literary and artistic creations, patriotic and self-sacrificing enterprises is an outstanding fact of the present generation, say, since 1905. As for the millennium-old

traditional manners and customs, rites and ceremonies, gods and goddesses, it is too well known that the pāriāh has been creative all through the ages in Indian history from the Mohenjodāroan epoch onward. The pāriāh is functioning still in the same fields,—linguistic, religious, economic, etc. But these social and cultural impacts of the pāriāh on the non-pāriāh do not interest me to any special extent in my discussion to-night. I want to divert your attention from the strictly social · creations, conquests and influences of the pāriāh to the somewhat ignored but none the less overwhelming creativeness of the pāriāh in the physique, physiognomy, bones and muscles, hands and feet, etc., of the entire Indian people, high or low.

You will have to open your eyes somewhat more widely and watch a bit more minutely the men, women and children in the diverse geographical regions or zones of India in order to realize how profoundly and extensively non-Brāhmaṇized, pāriāh-nized or Harijanized, practically the entire Hindu-Moslem masses and classes of India are and have been. I should ask you to examine, for instance, the antecedents of the so-called higher castes, nay, of the so-called Brāhmaṇs. My question will be as follows: How many of the members of these alleged higher castes or superior social orders are really higher or superior in blood, muscles, nerves ? I want to fight shy of naming the so-called higher castes individually, because you know quite well that everybody who believes that he or she

belongs to an alleged higher caste lives in a peculiar social climate. Each one has some sentiments of esteem, privilege and self-satisfaction attached to his or her caste. People may not like to be told that they are factually inferior to certain others, or even that they are not so elevated or dignified as they have by tradition been taught to appraise themselves. I do not want to disturb this sentimental climate of our countrymen by realistic enumerations. Let me, therefore, ask you to make investigations,—rough, detailed, superficial, extensive or deep, as the case may be,—about any castes that are known to be endowed with certain doses of superiority or social elevation. The problem is to ascertain if the alleged inferior castes, the pāriāhs, are entirely devoid of any drops of the blood or any particles of the flesh which the superiors can show, i. e., if they are totally different from the alleged non-pāriāhs. You notice that in this investigation we are called upon to bid adieu to the social climate of sentiments, traditions, vested interests. You and I have to examine as objectively as possible the following questions: (1) whether the alleged Brāhmaṇs or social superiors,—no matter of what grade,—are hermetically sealed groups, (2) whether the alleged non-Brāhmaṇs or pāriāhs,—again, no matter of what grade,—are likewise hermetically sealed groups,—and (3) whether the Brāhmaṇs and the non-Brāhmaṇs, i. e., whether the non-pāriāhs and the pāriāhs, have had no mutual infiltrations—i. e., reciprocal absorptions—between them in the past or in our own generation.

Not every-body present here is an anthropologist or ethnographer. Nor am I willing to inflict upon you the jargons of the race-sciences at this moment. Indeed, well-documented data are not available in as good and varied details about the diverse castes, sub-castes, or districts and sub-districts of India as one should like to possess in order to understand the anatomy of the so-called Brāhmans and the so-called pāriāhs of our social system.

I ask you, then, to apply your own simple, unaided, naked eyes. Watch your head-form, nose-form, skin-colour, chin, jaws, eyes, hair, etc., and compare them with those of your neighbours, especially of those who belong to your own caste, high or low. Do you find, and are you quite sure, that all the members of your caste exhibit the same physical features ? Everybody is aware that even the brothers of the same family do not always possess identical heads, noses, eyes, etc. The caste is a much wider group than the family. The variations between its members in regard to anatomy are therefore wider still. The existence of physical and physiognomic diversities in the same caste-group shows that diverse sources have contributed to the emergence of these physical features. The flesh and blood of human beings are not dropped from the air. They are derived from flesh and blood. Even if you take a small subdivision or *parganā* of a district in Bihār you will find that all the Brāhmans inhabiting the particular locality do not look alike. All the Chāmārs of the same region similarly do not look

alike. If then you survey a whole province like Bihār you will find that differences between the Brāhmaṇs of a subdivision in a Western district and those of a subdivision in an Eastern or Southern District are immense. In other words, from the standpoint of the cephalic, nasal and other physiognomic indices it is difficult, if not impossible, to speak of the Brāhmaṇs of Bihār as constituting a homogeneous caste. The Chāmārs also are not a homogeneous caste in Bihār. Well, right here at Dhānbād, in the district of Mānbhum, there are the Bāuris. You may look at them carefully and you will see that all the members of the Bāuri caste in a single village do not possess identical features.

Apply your investigation to any caste and to any region. The Kāyasthas of Bengal, say, in the easternmost districts of Chittagong and Comilla exhibit very many diversities in features which would be almost unintelligible to the Kāyasthas, say, of a Central Bengal or West Bengal district. In other words, the Bengalī Kāyastha is not a homogeneous group. Physiognomically he differs from district to district in a palpable manner, and even in the same locality the Bengalī Kāyastha's features exhibit a heterogeneity that is unmistakable. Let us take the Santāls. They are in evidence not only in these border-districts of Bihār, Bengal and Chhōṭā Nāgpur but in West Bengal and North Bengal as well. Bengalīs are quite familiar with the Santāl features. And yet who would venture to assert that all the Santāls

are identical in head-form, nose-form, skin-colour and so on ? There are Santāls and Santāls. Some of the Santāls are so un-Santāl in appearance,—I am not talking of clothing, manners, language, festivals, etc.,—that you would take them for ordinary Bengalīs. A group of such physiognomically un-Santāl or de-Santālized or Bengalīcized Santāls has been living in the district of Nadia within a few miles of Krishnagar.

The more we go into the question with eyes open the more do we feel convinced that each and every one of the castes, superior or inferior, higher or lower, Brāhmaṇ or pāriāh, is the result of the admixture of diverse physical, physiognomical, anatomical, racial or ethnic strains. Neither the Brāhmaṇ nor the Chāmār, neither the Bāuri nor the Santāl, is a pure caste. To the flesh and blood of each caste-group, to its bones and muscles, contributions have been furnished by diverse ethnic groups such as from time to time have happened to live in its neighbourhood. Every caste is a mixed group. The survey of castes with the naked eye even without the support of anthropometrical data is well calculated to tell a serious inquirer that *varṇa-sankara* (fusion of colours) or mixture of castes, i. e., of physical and physiognomic features is the most positive reality about our Indian social polity. Numerous instrumental measurements are indeed necessary to demonstrate scientifically and in a precise manner the nature and extent of these blood-mixtures. But already one is justified in

declaring that blood-purity is as much a myth with the Brāhmaṇas as with the non-Brāhmaṇas.

This is one side of the story in regard to the caste surveys. There is another side and that equally interesting. In the course of our investigations with the naked eye we shall find that perhaps the Santal and the Bāuri have certain features of colour, head, nose, etc. common although they consider themselves to be belonging to two different and water-tight racial, religious or caste compartments. Between the Chāmār and the Brāhmaṇ we are likely very often to notice a remarkable community or identity of physiognomy. The Kāyastha and the Kurmi, the Vaidya and the Namaśūdra, the Māhishya and the Brāhmaṇ, the Kāyastha and the Chāmār, each of these pairs may also be seen to be exhibiting similar or identical muscles and bones. I am naming these castes at random solely as descriptive categories and without any emotional reactions. The so-called higher castes and the so-called lower castes are seen sometimes to possess a remarkable sameness of anatomy. The pāriah's features agree at times with those of the Brāhmaṇ.

One must not misunderstand the situation. It is not my intention to say that every Santal or Bāuri or Chāmār or Māhishya or Namaśūdra has all the features similar to or identical with those of the Brāhmaṇ. I want only to make it clear that it is possible to come across many instances of identical head- nose- hair- forms being possessed as much by the Brāhmaṇ as by the

pāriáh or non-Brāhmaṇ. The possession of identical physiognomical features by certain members of the so-called superior castes and by certain members of the so-called inferior castes is not an exceptional or rare phenomenon. It is to be taken as a positive fact and a very frequent fact of the Indian social structure.

What does this physiognomic community or identity between the Brāhmaṇ and the Chāmār, the Kāyastha and the Brāhmaṇ, the Namasūdra and the Kāyastha, the Santāl and the Vaiśya, the Santāl and the Brāhmaṇ, the Vaidya and the Rājbansi, the Vaidya and the Gāro and the Kāyastha, the Momin and the Sheikh, the Brāhmaṇ and the Momin, the Mongol and the Brāhmaṇ, etc., etc., point to? They point but to one thing,—the common physical and physiognomical origin, i. e., the identical biological parentage of the groups possessing the common features. In other words, the flesh and blood of the Chāmār, the Santāl, the Bāuri, the Mūṇḍā, the Mongol, the Kāyastha, the Vaidya, the Māhishya, the Gāro, the Khāsi, and so forth is to be taken for granted in the flesh and blood of the Brāhmaṇ who happens to possess certain features of one or other of these castes. When the Hindu and the Moslem look alike in head, jaws, nose, hair, chin and so forth the common parentage of these two has likewise to be treated very often as a biological postulate. The Mongolian, Mongoloid or Mongolized eyes, jawbones and chins of the Bengalī Vaidyas, Kāyasthas, or Brāhmaṇs of the Assam

and Burma border-districts or East Bengal is but an index to the contribution of flesh and blood from the Assamese and Burman hill stocks. Altogether it is clear that the pāriāh is not so far below or sociologically "distant" from the Brāhmaṇ as to render it impossible for the former to influence the flesh and blood and bones and muscles of the latter. Among the biological parents of the Brāhmaṇ we have therefore to count the pāriāh fathers and the pāriāh mothers as well.

Society and law, the *Smritis'āstras*, the *Dharma's'āstras*, Manu, Yajñavalkya, Raghunandana may rest content with establishing the rigid demarcation between the higher and the lower, the Brāhmaṇ and the pāriāh. They may care even to ignore the possibilities of contact as well as remain blind to the facts of actual intercourse. But the horoscope of flesh and blood is too merciless, precise and severe to be bamboozled by the lawyer and the social pedant. There is such a thing as the biological, anatomico-physiological parents. They may be very remote in time and perhaps geographically far removed from the Brāhmaṇ of to-day. But no matter who be the immediate parents according to society and law — according to the latest civil Marriage Act of British India — the far-off biological parents inexorably declare their might in the very skin, head, chin, beard, eye, nose and what not. And some of these biological parents of contemporary Brāhmans in certain instances happen to be the Ghāmārs, the Santals, the Kayasthas, the Garos,

the Māhishyas, or other pāriahs including the Momins. The *Varṇāś'rama* (the caste-and-stage) system of social polity is proven by the facts of biological parentage to be in the racial sense nothing better than a "legal fiction". The effective horoscope of flesh and blood compels the social horoscope constructed by match-makers to retire into the background as an interesting curio of world-culture.

The rôle of the pāriah as one of the distant biological parents of certain groups of the superior social orders, is now self-evident. We have to understand that the so-called inferior caste has in very many instances succeeded in injecting its flesh and blood into the flesh and blood of the so-called superior groups. Taking the fifty-one million Bengalīs,—Hindu, Mussalman and tribal,—we should then be prepared to believe that, no matter what be the degree or dose of superiority of a certain social group, the biological parentage of some of its members has very often been furnished by the members of one or other of the innumerable lower groups. The Bhuṭiyās, Lepchās, Tibetans, Nepalis etc. of the Himālayan valleys or forests have thus to be counted among the biological parents, however remote, of some of the Brāhmaṇs, Kāyasthas, Vaidyas, Navāśāks, etc. of Bengal. Among the biological fathers of the high-caste or low-caste Bengalīs of to-day we have likewise to enumerate the Chākmās, Mishmis, Khāsis, Gāros, Mags and so forth of Assamese and Burnian mountains. Then the Mūndās, Orāofis, Santāls and other tribes of Chhōtānāgpur, Bihār

and Orissā hills and forests have also to be included in the horoscopes of many Bengalis of all castes as some of their biologically effective fathers and mothers.

In order to bring home to you the furthest logical implications of this caste-fusion or blood-intermixture let me deliver to you one of my favourite equations, which, though not ethnologically quite accurate, may be taken as roughly applicable to a large section of the population even of our higher castes. It runs thus: "*Mūndā ghoshe'-meje' Bannerji-Chatterji-Mukherji*", that is, "the Munda chiselled, rubbed and polished becomes our Banerji-Chatterji-Mukherji". This more or less approximate equation establishes for me once for all my basic thesis, namely, that however high be the caste to which a modern Bengali may happen to belong it is impossible for him in many instances to deny his humbler biological affinities. Whatever be the radical element in the ethnic make-up of the Bengali people, there has been, in the course of ages, so much miscegenation that it can hardly be denied that a fair amount of the blood of the lower caste, the pāriāh, is coursing through the higher castes' alleged blue blood. The pāriāh has thus conquered the Bengali people more vitally than we generally imagine. The arts, sciences, morals and manners of Bengali civilization have been made and re-made very often and very substantially,—although not exclusively, of course,—by persons in whom pāriāh flesh and blood,

pāriāh muscles and bones are too patent to be overlooked or explained away. The Dubeys, Tiwaris, Chaubeys etc., of the Bihāri and U. P. Brāhmans are similarly to be regarded as specimens of men and women in the making of which the flesh and blood of the *ādibāsis* (aboriginal races) of the hill-forests and river-valleys has had an influential share.

I have said that this biological parentage may be remote in time from the present generation and in space from the localities of the day. But this need not be always remote in time or locality. Those who go about the world with eyes open know the actualities of domestic life among their neighbours, high or low. It is easy for them to get convinced that biological contact between the Brāhmaṇ and the Chāmār, the non-pāriāh and the pāriāh, is hardly, if at all, prevented by socio-legal taboos. The biological urge is more imperious than the *s'āsans* or commands of Manu, Raghunandana and the modern Penal Code. Be this as it may, I am in a position to declare finally,—although as yet without the support of adequate anthropometrical surveys,—that some of the greatest men and women belonging to certain superior castes of Bihār, Bengal and All-India have had in part at least, biologically considered, a pāriāh heritage. The inferior, unknown and lower castes or races are therefore to be described as some of the world-conquerors and rulers of mankind not only in the socio-cultural or economico-political sense but in the more fundamental

physico-physiognomic and biologico-morphological aspects as well.

You will have noticed that I have never used the word 'Āryan'. This is neither an oversight nor a mere accidental slip. I want to invite your attention as much as possible to the purely physical, anatomical and biological facts. It is these facts that are implied by the category 'race'. Now the word 'Āryan' implies language and along with it literature, religion, arts, social organization, etc. It is a linguistic-cultural category and is entirely independent of physique, head-nose-hair forms, skin-colour and the entire physiognomic complex. It is not possible to use the category 'Āryan' in an ethnic or racial sense. For instance, we may not know anything about the race, i. e., physico-biological affiliations, of the Santals or the Bāuris of Dhānbād. But as soon as they speak Bengali they are Āryan or Āryanized like the Bengali Brāhmaṇ, because Bengali is a language which belongs to the Āryan family of languages. Their Bengalīcization implies automatically Āryani-zation. It does not affect and is not affected by the race of the Santals or the Bāuris. A Bengali-speaking Santal is as good an Āryan as the Hindi-speaking Chaubey Brāhmaṇ or the Hindi-speaking Chāmār, because Hindi also is, like Bengali, an Āryan language.

My 'pāriāh' and 'non-pāriāh', inferior or superior, non-Brāhmaṇ or Brāhmaṇ are ethnic categories. I am using them as descriptive terms for certain physical or racial features. They may happen to

be entirely Āryan or Āryanized or semi-Āryanized in language, literature, clothing, festivities, morals, manners and sentiments. If somebody says that Bengali culture is partially or wholly Āryan he does not say anything about the flesh and blood, skin, head, eyes, lips etc. of the fifty-one million Bengali men and women. He says nothing more than that a language which is known to be Āryan and a culture-complex which can also be described as Āryan are to be found among the predominant majority of the inhabitants of Bengal. Āryan blood does not exist anywhere on earth and has never been known to exist.

I have cited instances only from India and especially from the Hindus of Bihar and Bengal. You may extend your investigations to other regions, to Asia or to Eur-America if you care to. In the West the word 'caste' is not used, and naturally the pāriāh as known in India is unknown. But among the Eur-Americans also there is the superiority-complex. Certain groups are believed to be superior and others inferior. I am talking of blood groups or ethnic, i. e. flesh and blood, classes. All Eur-America is not inhabited to-day and was never inhabited in the past by any one race. There are several races in the Western world. The Jews are generally known to be a distinct race. They are as a rule taken to be distinct from the Christians. We should understand, however, that the category 'Jew' describes a religion (and a culture-complex) but not a race, i. e., physiognomical category. Similarly Christian, like Āryan,

does not indicate an ethnic group or groups. However, the Jews and Christians of Eur-America can be divided into many physiognomic groups or classes. And, as in India, the doctrine of superior races (physico-biological groups) is quite extensive and powerful among the Western peoples. You have heard of the Nordics, the Alpines and the Mediterraneans. These are somewhat new ethnographic names. The older ethnic or rather linguistic categories like the Celts, Latins, Teutons, etc., are well-known. Some of them are supposed to be inferior to others.

For instance, the Celts and Latins of France, the Latins of Spain, Portugal and Italy, as well as the Slavs of Russia, Greece, the Balkan complex, Poland, etc. are regarded as inferior races by the Teutons (or Nordics) of England, U. S. A. and Germany. This conception is widely distributed not only among the masses but among certain groups of ethnologists, politicians and culture-leaders in those latter countries. Then according to the eugenicists of every country who, as a rule, believe in the majesty of blood, as well as according to their political allies who as a rule are opposed to socialism and the demands of the poor, there are superior and inferior stocks and strains in every region. Thus it is the objective of British political eugenics to forbid the fusion of the alleged superior and inferior strains as well as to prevent the multiplication of the so-called inferior stocks.

But those who go into details about the ethnic features of the creative men and women of Eur-

America to-day or yesterday will be convinced that the non-superior cannot be marked off from the superior. The non-superior of yesterday has grown into the superior of to-day. There are, in the first place, no pure Nordics, pure Alpines, pure Celts, or pure Latins. And in the second place, the flesh and blood of the superior or higher race, whatever it be, has been derived to no small extent from the flesh and blood of the inferior or lower race. For the present I need not go further.

Let me, then, conclude my discussion with the almost universally valid proposition that the superior or Brāhmaṇ of to-day has very often grown, more or less, out of the inferior or pāriāh biological stocks of yesterday. And this enables me to conclude also that the unknown, the lower, the inferior, the depressed, and the pāriāh of to-day is tending to grow into the renowned, the higher, the superior, the Brāhmaṇ of to-morrow. In other words, the world is being considerably created and conquered all the time by the pāriāh. It is to the pāriāh, therefore, that the future of mankind belongs in substantial measure, and this not only from the standpoint of culture but also from that of flesh and blood.

As I am talking so emphatically of the creative rôle of the pāriāh in the societies of the world there is every danger of my being misunderstood. People might suspect that perhaps I wish that pāriāhdom should be nursed by society. Let me, therefore, declare in so many words that the

condition of the pāriāh, the inferior race, castes, community or class is not an enviable one whether in the East or in the West. We may recall the status of the Roman Catholics in Great Britain down to 1829 and that of the Jews in Russia, Central Europe and the U. S. A. down to our own times. The Indian pāriāh is of course a by-word,—and a world-notorious by-word. The war against pāriāhdom of all varieties and degrees both in East and West,—in other words, the war against ethnocentrism or Brāhmaṇocracy in science and politics as well as in culture,—is one of the first desiderata of a new world-planning in my sentiments as well as scientific researches. The abolition of all sorts of race-prejudices, privileges and inequalities based on ethnic considerations, and distinctions between Occidental and Oriental peoples, on the one hand, and the establishment of race-equality, class-equality and caste-equality in inter-human relations, on the other, are two of the fundamental planks in my scheme for national and international reconstruction.

But in the meantime, it is impossible to overlook or ignore race-inequalities, race-prejudices, ethnic chauvinism, the doctrine of race-superiority, inferiority-complex, ethnocentrism, Brāhmaṇocracy etc., as positive facts of the world order in all regions and in all ages. We have seen before that poverty is likewise a social fact of universal and eternal dimensions. It is therefore simply as a fact of world-history and as a solid reality of cultural progress that I maintain that the pāriāh,

the inferior, the non-Brahman, like the economically poor, have in many instances in every country furnished the flesh and blood of the alleged superiors or Brāhmans. It is proven that the alleged *varṇa*-superiority, physico-physiognomic superiority of the Brāhmaṇ is a myth. The so-called higher castes are not higher than the alleged inferior castes in flesh and blood. The pāriāh's biological contributions to the make-up of the non-pāriāh, and flesh and blood contacts with the Brāhmaṇ are incontestable realities. The racial and social "distances" between the lower and the higher are not as wide and deep as may be imagined by both. All the same, pāriāhdom is, like poverty, to be combated and annihilated by every possible means and in every region.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTION.

MY CENTRAL INDIAN EXPEDITION, 1938—39.

By

REV. DR. W. KOPPERS.

The early history of India cannot be cleared up satisfactorily, without the scientific and thorough investigation of the various primitive tribes of Central India. Since the oldest times Central India has been a refuge and hiding place for retreating primitive races, as well as also a through-passage for them in their wanderings from North to South and *vice versa*. With full right therefore may we speak of Central India as a key-position of the Indian primitive tribes. In the past, Indian and foreign scientists have supplied much valuable material for the anthropological investigation of these regions. But a systematic research, working with the means of modern science, has not been made as yet. Realising this I decided in 1938 to devote at least one year to the exploration of the primitive Central Indian tribes. I began with the research-work in November 1938 and brought it to a very successful conclusion at the end of November 1939.

It was an impossibility, and therefore not my intention, to examine all the primitive tribes of Central India. The abundance of problems and tasks forced me to select only one specially, namely—

the Bhil-problem. Every expert knows that this problem is as interesting as it is important for the clearing up of the anthropological and cultural history of the whole of Central India.

The Bhils dwell—as is well known—in the north-western regions of Central India and its neighbourhood. They number probably more than 20 *lakhs* of individuals. Most certainly they are not of Indo-Āryan origin, although their present language is Indo-Āryan, being a dialect of Gujrātī. The question of decisive importance is this: Do the Bhils in their origin belong to the pre-Indo-Āryan group of the Dravidas or to the Mūndās? Or are they a people *sui generis* and to be counted among the so-called Pre-Dravidas and Pre-Mūndās? I have come to the conclusion, founded on my recent investigations, that the Bhils probably belong to the Pre-Dravidian and Pre-Mūndā races. I say “probably”, as at present nothing can be said for certain, before the collected material is examined carefully. In connection with this I am able to state also, that on the whole many more of the primitive Central Indian tribes deserve the title of Pre-Dravidas and Pre-Mūndās. With a certain reserve I may name here—besides the Bhils,—the Nāhāls, the Baigās, the Kolis and in a certain sense the Balāhis. My recent investigations may thus very well demand a revision of the scientific classification of various important primitive tribes of Central India with regard to their origin and ethnographical peculiarities.

In order to gain a better knowledge of the Bhils, their neighbour-tribes had also to be examined in the course of my research-work. Consequently the Korkoos and Nähals as well as the Gonds and Baigas received my special attention. The anthropological measurement of the Baigas living in the Satpura mountains, east of Jubbulpore, brought out the interesting fact that these people belong to the Pygmoid race, as the height of the men was, on an average, below 61 inches (154 cm.), and that of the women below 57 inches (144 cm.).

For my anthropological research-work the able help of Catholic missionaries was of greatest value. First of all I have to mention the Rev. Fr. L. Jungblut S. V. D. and St. Fuchs, S. V. D. both of the Indore Mission, whose Superior is Msgr. P. Janser, a sympathetic promoter of anthropological science, then Rev. Fr. E. Thevenet, M. S. S. of Chikalda and Rev. Fr. Van Heertum of Duhania near Jubbulpore. With the help of these Catholic priests and also of other Catholic and Protestant missionaries, as well as of English and Indian officials I could gather an exceptionally comprehensive and valuable collection of ethnographical facts. I take this collection along to Fribourg, Switzerland, to whose University I have been invited to take up the duties of a Professor of Cultural Anthropology.

I filled some thousand pages with ethnographical notes about the Bhils alone. Anthropological measurements were taken and the examination of blood-groups was made (with the

valuable help of Dr. Gorlitzer, New Delhi), of more than 450 individuals. Over 30 characteristic Bhil-songs were recorded by phonograph and thus secured for the comparative study of Music. Photo- and film-cameras of course had an important part in the research-work. Also several carefully selected and relatively rich ethnographical collections are prepared and ready to be shipped to Europe for the museums at Paris, Copenhagen and Fribourg.

In closing, I must not omit to say a word of thanks to the Rockefeller Foundation, the Musée de l'Homme in Paris, the National Museum in Copenhagen: these institutes covered the financial expenses of the whole expedition in a generous way.

NOTES AND NEWS.

In *Natural History*, for May, 1940, Prof. A. C. Blanc gives an account of a Neanderthal fossil skull and a jaw associated with numerous animal remains and traces of human industry belonging to the Old Stone Age, discovered by him in a coastal cave of Mount Circeo in Italy. By piecing together the evidence afforded by the skull and its associated finds in the cave (which Prof. Blanc has named Grotta Guatari, after the name of the owner of the grounds who gave the clue to the discovery by Prof. Blanc), the discoverer inferred that "the man had probably been killed by a blow in the region of the right temple and eye, which caused a fracture; thereafter he had been beheaded, outside of the cave, no trace of the skeleton having been found". Prof. Blanc continues,— "The circle of stones suggests that his skull was laid to rest with ceremony, and we assume that the rites were performed by his own people rather than a different race, for the industry that has been found in the cave is exclusively characteristic of the Neanderthal people. Strangest perhaps of all, however, is that the skull shows signs of mutilation after death in the form of a symmetrical opening at the base. This suggests that the people were given to the practice of removing the brain as part of the death ceremony, possibly also to ceremonial cannibalism" (such as is practised by many primitive peoples of to-day, who eat a small portion of the heart, liver or other organ of the dead to acquire his virtues or propitiate his ghost). Prof. Blanc adds—"In any case this ancient burial shows concrete evidence of spiritual beliefs. Its circle of stones and the removal of the brain (as indicated by a symmetrical opening at the base) signify that these Neanderthal people of the Ice Age believed that the remains of the dead must be

accorded certain ceremonies for what we might call religious rites. The practice of death rites almost certainly implies the belief that the spirit does not end with death; so perhaps this is the earliest evidence of man's conviction in the survival of the soul".

Prof. Sergio Sergi, anthropologist at the Royal University, Rome, has concluded from a close examination of this skull that this individual was a man of about 40 or 50, who had lost his teeth before his death. The skull, with a capacity of 1550 cubic centimeters, is larger than the average skull of modern man (though that is no indication of mental capacity). It is exceedingly low in the forehead region; the face, eyes and the nose were very large. "The nose is the highest and largest among all the Neanderthalian skulls that we know". Prof. Sergio Sergi is of opinion that "the skulls with which the Man of Mount Circeo belongs represent the end branch of a race which was extinguished during the last glaciation,...because their anatomical adaptability decreased until their evolution reached such a stage of extreme fixity as to mark the end of the species". A minimum age of 70,000 years has been estimated for this fossil man of Circe's Mountain.

In the death, on February 29, 1940, of Sir Hubert Murray, K. C. M. G., Lieutenant-Governor of Papua from 1908 till his death, the world has lost an ideal Governor for aboriginal tracts. He held and acted up to the principle that an aboriginal area should be developed primarily for the benefit of its aboriginal population and, so far

as possible, through them. He was a pioneer among British administrators to make a regular appointment for a Government Anthropologist, and it was mainly due to his exertions that a Chair of Anthropology was established at the Sydney University in 1921. He endeared himself so much to the natives that after thirty years of his administration he was petitioned by the Papuans that he would never leave them, and he promised to do so. The Commonwealth Government wisely sanctioned an indefinite extension to his services which he continued till his death. He was the author of "Papua or British New Guinea" (1912), and "Papua of To-day, or an Australian Colony in the making" (1925).

INDIAN ETHNOLOGY AND GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY IN CURRENT PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

In *Man* for May, 1940, Mr. Cuthbert King, I. C. S., writes notes on a few *Rock-Drawings on the Indus*. These include engravings of conventional figures of animals, human beings, and markings some of which distantly resemble Chinese characters. Sir John Marshall considers that these markings are of the late historic character, and his successor Rai Bahdur Daya Ram Sahni points out that they resemble several rock-drawings of the mediæval period in these parts of India. One of these drawings (of two human figures shaking hands), Mr. King thinks, "represents a treaty between two chiefs concerning fishing rights in the Indus".

The same number of *Man* contains the summary of five papers read at a special meeting of the R. A. Institute held at Cambridge on the 24th February, 1940, on "The Economic Organization of the Bhutiyā" by Mr. Nabendu Dutta-Mazumdar; on "The Political System of Anuak" by Dr. G. E. Evans-Pritchard; on "Diet and Race" by Mr. L. F. Kewman; on "Aspects of Culture Contact among the Eskimos" by Mr. F. F. Paterson; and on the "Archæology of the Santa Elena Peninsula, Ecuador", by Mr. G. H. S. Bushnell.

Folk-Lore for May 1940 contains the Presidential Address delivered by Prof. Dr. J. H. Hutton. In this highly interesting Address, Prof. Hutton examines a number of reported cases of the discovery of

children reared by animals, in order that some conclusion might be reached, if possible. After a review of the cases he declares that he is "unable to conclude on a note of finality", because "the quantity of reliable evidence is not great enough to warrant any dogmatic assertion to the effect that cases have occurred of the nurture of human infants by wild animals, though on some of the evidence this appears likely to be the case".

In *Natural History* for May, 1940, Mr. D. R. Barton contributes an article on "*The Vanishing African*" in which he shows by a few concrete instances how the modern detribalized African reacts to the clothes and customs of a machine age.

The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay, 1936-39, issued this year, contains eight short folk-lore articles by the late S. C. Mitra, two articles on "*The Anthropological Aspect of Hindu Astrology*", and "*Evil Social customs among the Mārāthas*", by Mr. K. A. Padhye, and one on *The Bengali Almanac* by Mr. S. N. Roy.

The *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* for April, 1940, contains a folk-lore article "On the Cult of the Banyan and the Pipal tress" by the late S. C. Mitra. The same Journal for July, 1940, contains a fresh instalment of "*Studies in Bird-Myths*" by the late S. C. Mitra, and an article on "*Love, Romance and Marriage in Dravidian India*" by Mr. S. V. Viswanatha.

In the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, Mr. D. C. Gangoly writes on the "Relation between Indian and Indonesian Culture":

In the *Journal of the University of Bombay* for July, 1940, Mr. B. L. Mankad contributes "*A Sociological Study of the Kolis in Kathiawad*". Besides giving a short account of certain social and religious customs of the Koli tribe, the writer gives eighteen marriage songs of the tribe with English translations.

In the *Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society*, Mr. G. V. Sitapati continues his study of the "*Soras and their Country*".

In the *Indian Historical Quarterly* for March, 1940, Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri writes an article on "*The wife in the Vedic Ritual*".

In the *New Review* for May, 1940, Mary L. B. Fuller contributes the first instalment of an article on "*Marathi Grinding Songs*". This is followed up in the June number by the second or concluding instalment.

In the *Modern Review* for June, 1940, Mr. Chaman Lal in an article entitled "*Hindus discovered America*", enumerates 25 items of evidence,—economic, philological, historical, socio-religious and religious,—in support of the proposition that Hindus from ancient India migrated to America and were the ancestors of the ancient Mexicans. In support of this main proposition, the author cites authorities of whom not the least is the official historian

of the Mexican Government who in the "General Outline of the History of Mexico" writes :—"Those who first arrived on the continent later to be known as America were groups of men driven by that mighty current that set out from India towards the east".

In the same number of the *Modern Review*, Mr. P. Naidu writes on "*The Dance Motif in South Indian Temple Sculptures*".

In the Journal of the *Bhāratiya Vidyā* for May 1940, Mr. K. M. Munshi contributes an article headed "*From Rāma Jāmadagnya to Janmejaya Parikshita*". In it Mr. Munshi summarises the historical events gleaned from the Vedic and Pauranic literature and set forth in his *Thakkar Vassanji Madharji Lectures* delivered in the University of Bombay in 1939.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Anthropology and Sociology.

Race, Language, and Culture. By Franz Boas. (Macmillan, 1940). Pp. XX+647.

In this volume Prof. Boas has collected sixty-three papers published by him at various times. These have been classified under three heads, *viz.* Race; Language; Culture. A fourth section headed Miscellaneous contains three of his earlier papers entitled respectively—"Advances in Methods of Teaching" (1898); "The Aims of Anthropology" (1888); and "The Study of Geography" (1887). These earlier papers have been published without any changes or introduction of new materials as it seemed to the author that the fundamental theoretical treatment of the problems is still valid, and the last two papers indicate the general attitude underlying his later work. The opening paper or papers of each of the first three sections present general discussions on the subject-matter of the section and are followed by papers embodying the results of special investigations forming the bases of general view-points. Thus, the first section begins with a paper on "Race and Progress", in which Prof. Boas discusses the effects of heredity, environment and selection upon bodily form, and the relations between the biological make-up of the individual and the physiological and psychological functioning of his body, and the influence of the cultural factor, and adduces reasons to hold that "the variety of response of groups

of the same race but culturally different is so great that it seems likely that any existing biological differences are of minor importance". "The present state of our knowledge", he says, "justifies us in saying that while individuals differ, biological differences between races are small. There is no reason to believe that one race is by nature so much more intelligent, endowed with greater will-power, or emotionally more stable than another, that the difference would materially influence its culture. Nor is there any good reason to believe that the differences between races are so great that the descendants of mixed marriages would be inferior to their parents. Biologically there is no good reason to object to fairly close inbreeding in healthy groups, nor to intermingling of the principal races". (Pp. 13-14). As regards the psychological significance of race antagonism, our author writes,— "The free intermingling of slave owners with the female slaves and the resulting striking decrease of the number of full-blooded Negroes, the progressive development of a half-blood Indian population and the readiness of intermingling with Indians when economic advantages may be gained by such means, show clearly that there is no biological foundation for race feeling". On this question Prof. Boas joins issue with Sir Arthur Keith who is reported to have said that "race-antipathy and race prejudice nature has implanted in you for her own end—the improvement of mankind through racial differentiation". As to this Prof. Boas writes:—"I challenge him to prove that race antipathy is 'implanted by nature' and not the effect of social causes which are active in every closed social group, no matter whether it is racially heterogeneous or homogeneous. The complete lack of sexual antipathy; the weakening of race consciousness in communities in which children grow up as an almost homogeneous group; the occurrence of equally strong antipathies between denominational groups, or between social strata—as witnessed by the Roman patricians and plebians, the Spartan Lacedæmonians and

helots, the Egyptian castes and some of the Indian castes—all these show that antipathies are social phenomena.... While the biological reasons [for racial purity] that may be adduced may not be relevant, a stratification of society in social groups that are racial in character will always lead to racial discrimination.... As long as we insist on stratification in social layers, we shall pay the penalty in the form of inter-racial struggle".

Space forbids us to refer to the remaining articles which are all of great interest. In fact, the present volume is a most valuable contribution to the study of Anthropology.

Essays in Polynesian Ethnology. By R. W. Williamson. Edited by Ralph Piddington. *With an analysis of recent studies in Polynesian History*, by the Editor. (Cambridge University Press, 1939). Pp. xiii+373. 25s.

Those who have read the three volumes of Williamson's *Social and Political Systems of Central Polynesia* will welcome the publication of his other unpublished data about the Polynesians. The first part of the present volume contains his hitherto unpublished posthumous manuscripts on the history and ethnology of Polynesia. It is practically "a digest of the work of earlier observers together with brief references to subsequent studies".

Still more welcome and interesting even than this First Part is Part II of the book (Pp. 199—366) in which the Editor, Dr. Piddington, endeavours to assess the present position of historical studies in Polynesia, with special reference to certain recent

theories of Polynesian origins propounded since Williamson's death. This second part consists of four chapters, headed respectively—"Stability and Change in Polynesian Culture", "The Origins of Polynesian Culture", "Polynesia and Melanesia", "Past and Present in Polynesia", besides an Appendix on "Assam Parallels". Dr. Piddington's treatment of historical material in Part II, is based on the view that the assumptions employed in historical reconstruction must be examined in detail in relation to the evidence cited, and that the latter must be considered in its contextual settings, and with an appreciation of alternative assumptions and the logical implications of the hypothesis advanced.

On a consideration of all available evidence regarding Polynesian origins, Dr. Piddington comes to the negative conclusion that neither the ethnological data nor native traditions (which are as a rule unreliable) provide adequate material for the formulation of valid historical reconstructions; but that "the most which historical ethnology can do is to offer a vast number of alternative possibilities, without any hope of ever knowing which is the correct interpretation." As against the current view that Polynesian culture is a product of two successive cultural influxes into the Pacific, Dr. Piddington draws attention to the possibility that there never was more than one cultural migration into the area, and that the variations to be found there are due to spontaneous development from a single original culture. With regard

to the resemblances between the cultures of Assam on the one hand and those of specific areas of Oceania on the other to which Prof. J. H. Hutton drew attention in his Presidential Address to the Anthropology Section of the British Association in 1939, Dr. Piddington cites data to show that many of the supposed resemblances between the cultures of Assam and the Marquesas are "founded upon faulty ethnographic evidence, and that, where this is not the case, parallels for the traits concerned may be found in Africa or America, or both, and opines that the parallels cited by Prof. Hutton are possibly due to independent development and that, at any rate, they are not adequate to support Prof. Hutton's hypothesis.

The Work of the Gods in Tikopia. By Raymond Firth. (Percy Lund Humphreys & Co. London, 1940) with Diagrams and Plates. Pp. 188. 7s. 6d.

This is the first volume of a new series of Monographs on Social Anthropology, projected by the Department of Anthropology of the London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London). The aim of this series is "to publish results of modern anthropological field-work in a form which will be of primary interest to specialists. Any profits of the series will be returned to a rotating fund to assist further publications. Obviously to minimise expenditure, the book has been printed by the Replica process which gives it the appearance of a type-written volume.

In the present monograph, the author gives a succinct account of the Tikopian Ritual Cycle, of which the rites fall into several main divisions, and which is integrated under the name of the 'Work of the Gods.' Though believed to have been instituted primarily by one deity, the principal god of Kafika, other gods and chiefly ancestors are also drawn into the scheme. The ritual and the sacred objects connected with it are linked with definite beliefs that the rites are essential to maintain the fertility of the crops and success in fishing, as well as the general welfare of the island as a whole. This volume is taken up with a detailed realistic description of the elaborate ritual cycle, the interpretation of which has been reserved for the second volume. The ritual cycle known as the 'Work of the Gods' is regarded as a coherent system of activities broadly falling into several main divisions, viz. 'Throwing of the Fire-stick' which is a symbolical act to initiate the cycle; Ritual (re-sacralisation) of the sacred Canoes with the obvious aim of securing fish not only for human consumption but to provide the *atua*s with suitable offerings; reconsecration of temples; a series of harvest and planting rites of the yam (as symbol for all vegetable food-stuffs); a sacred dance festival; several memorial rites on the sites of vanished tamples; and the ritual manufacture of turmeric (in the Trade Wind season). Variatious in the rites may be permitted, first, if they do not invalidate or threaten the whole ritual system of which they are a part; secondly, if they do not involve

a radical readjustment by other groups as well that are immediately concerned ; and thirdly when they represent obvious economic and social advantages. "Polynesian cultures", Dr. Firth, says, "must be regarded not as static arrangements resting upon an original fusion of diverse elements, but as a dynamic arrangement with a tendency to variation perceptible in each generation, and with a selective process by which some at least of these variations are built into the cultural system". As the initial ceremony of the "Throwing of the Firestick" plunges the community into a state of *tapu*, the last ceremony known as "*fakatanga o fenua*" frees the land from the *tapu* which prevented people from dancing, from shouting loudly, and even from sitting in groups on the beach in the evening for general conversation. Loud shouting, conch blowing and the like are indulged in and people emerge once more from their seclusion, and dancing begins for their young folk that very evening.

The interesting account of the Ritual Cycle given in this book is full and the analysis thorough. Among other points of special interest brought out in the author's account may be noted the religious sanctions behind land-tenure and the privileges of chieftainship in Tikopia.

We shall be eagerly looking forward to the second volume of this work in which the theoretical problems involved will be discussed.

London, 1940). Pp. 74 with diagrams and Plates. 5s.

This is the second monograph of the series of which the first has been just reviewed. The Kurds are the hill people of Kurdistan which is now divided between Persia, Iraq and Turkey. They now profess Islam. The Rowanduz area to which the present account is confined and which was nominally under Turkish domination, came, after the last European War, within the arc of the Iraq mandate. On the abandonment of the mandate, the Baghdad authorities adopted a more positive policy of "pacification". The present-day Kurdish society is undergoing extremely rapid, and at times violent, social change. Mr. Leach describes Kurdish society "as if it were a functioning whole" and then shows up existing circumstances as "variations from this idealised norm". His account is based upon a brief five weeks' field survey carried out in 1938. The author intended to follow it up with an intensive study of one locality for over a year, but the political developments in Europe made this project impracticable at the time.

Within the small compass of this book, the author touches on various aspects of Kurdish culture—political structure, economic organization, technology, marriage and kinship, inheritance of land tenure, warfare, religious organisation. It is a cardinal feature of Kurdish custom that the stranger, whatever his rank and position, is entitled to free board and lodging at the expense of the Agha (landlord), and for this purpose there is in every village a "Guest House"

(which may be a part of the Agha's own house). "The more lavish the Agha's hospitality the greater the esteem of his fellows....A mere reputation for generosity may not bring with it any particular tangible reward in the form of economic advantage or practical influence. But the pattern of society is such that this form of reputation is esteemed above all others, and it is in the light of this set of values that the institution of the Guest House must be considered". The author's aim in this short study has been, as he informs us, "not to record 'the manners and customs' of the Kurds... but to throw some light on the contrasting factors of conflict and cohesian that affect the lives of the small group of people inhabiting the Rowanduz area". He concludes by expressing "the hope that this analysis is soon put out of date by more intensive research".

So far as it goes, however, the author's account is informative and even illuminating. We hope he will himself undertake before long the "more intensive research" that he looks forward to.

How Came Civilization ? By Lord Raglan.
(Methuen. 1939) Pp. vii + 191. 6s.

Lord Raglan defines 'culture' as "patterned behaviour", and 'civilization' as "literate culture". The main thesis of this book is that civilization, far from being the culmination of a natural process, is a rare phenomenon that has occurred only twice in the history of the world. The following extracts will give the gist of the author's argument:—

"Civilization depends upon scholarship and science, and these depend upon writing; civilization can only arise where the art of writing is known. Now there are two kinds of writing, the pictorial and the alphabetic. The latter is known to be

comparatively modern....Every alphabet in the world is derived from the alphabet which was developed, about the middle of the second millennium B. C., in the Eastern Mediterranean, probably in Phœnicia. This fact, which is undisputed, suggests two conclusions. The first is that since the chief medium of civilization, the alphabet, was diffused from one centre, civilization itself was diffused from one centre. The second is that since the later kind of writing, the alphabet, which is now almost universal, was diffused from one centre, the earlier kind of writing, which never had more than a very limited distribution, was probably diffused from one centre. [The earlier kind of writing which was pictorial] is now confined to eastern Asia, and at its widest extent was limited to an area stretching from North Africa through Southern and Eastern Asia to Polynesia and Middle America. It was never used in Europe. Up to 1000 B. C. Europe beyond the Aegean was totally illiterate and therefore totally uncivilized; the Middle East had been literate for thousands of years". (p. 4) "The basic inventions, those upon which civilization has been founded, require a very large number of steps, which must be taken in the right order. There is not the slightest evidence that this process has taken place independently in two or more distinct cultural regions; in fact, all the evidence is against it". (p. 16) "The foundations of civilization, were laid in the Nile-Indus region long before any speakers of Aryan languages—and the Nordics of Europe are all Aryan speakers—entered this region". (p. 26) "Progress, far from being universal, is extremely limited in its incidence both in time and space, and the normal condition of human groups is one not of progress but of stagnation or decay". (p. 39) "All culture is artificial, and what we call civilization is an extreme form of artificiality, limited to small minorities even in the most civilized countries. New ideas can only occur to individuals and do only occur to highly exceptional individuals". (p. 172) "A Society might be progressive in which nine-tenths of the people were starving; the Athens of Plato and Aristotle was progressive, although nine-tenths of the people were slaves. On the other hand, a society in which every one had enough and no one too much might be happy enough, but would almost certainly be on the down-grade. I

say almost certainly, since savages are all on the down-grade whether they have enough or not, and there has never been a civilized society in which all have had enough. Progress is brought about by scientists who, working upon a vast body of accumulated knowledge, are enabled to discover new facts, and incidentally to dissipate ancient superstition. But their discoveries and inventions can throw no light on the origin of civilization....Our only hope of discovering its origin is to study it historically and archaeologically where it was developed.... Many of the principal discoveries and inventions upon which our civilization is based can be traced with considerable probability to an area with its focus near the head of the Persian Gulf, and such evidence as there is suggests that they were made by ingenious priests as a means of facilitating the performance of religious ritual". (p. 176) "We have good reason to believe that among the ancient Babylonians and Egyptians, as to a great extent among modern Hindus, ritual was regarded as the prime motive power in the world. It was only by means of ritual that the sun was induced to rise and the rain to fall; that birth was caused, disease cured and death averted; in short, it was believed that ritual is productive of all good, and destructive of all evil. This belief, in its various forms, is still found all over the world. There is, however, no reason to believe that it is in any way natural or instinctive; the probability is that, like all forms of culture, it was diffused from some one area, probably in South-Western Asia. For belief in ritual, whether we call it magical or religious, depends on belief in the priest, the man who knows and performs the ritual, and it can hardly be doubted that the priest is the product of culture. And he well may have been the father of civilization. For in communities dominated by civilization, as we have reason to believe that the communities in which civilization originated were, the priest was the repository of all knowledge. There must have been knowledge other than that of ritual, but all knowledge was dependent on ritual. The priestly colleges were centres of wealth and leisure, the only ones that there were, and therefore the only places in which experiments could be performed. But since ritual was the main interest of the priests, their experiments would be based upon

the requirements of ritual, which, as it developed, would stimulate fresh experiments....We have reason to believe that the vast ritual complex associated with the divine kingship was developed in the Ancient East, in the same regions as, and most probably in association with, the various inventions and discoveries connected with the growing of corn, the domestication of sheep and cattle, pottery and the use of metals. From the Ancient East the stream flowed east and west. The introduction of Buddhism to China followed upon that of earlier cults, and led to a period of ritual development lasting well over a thousand years. During this period many inventions were made, but when the ritual became stereotyped, invention ceased. Westward the ritual stream flowed into Greece, but the development both of ritual and invention was more important in Asiatic than in European Greece. The old Roman ritual gave little encouragement to inventiveness, and the later cults were imported ready-made from the East. As a result, the Romans invented almost nothing. Much the same can be said of the Moslems....From the fall of the Roman Empire to the fifteenth century things were much the same throughout Europe; there were very few inventions, and these were mostly made by priests, or used in the service of the Church....But in the fifteenth century four very important events occurred almost simultaneously: the taking of Constantinople by the Turks and the consequent flooding of Western Europe with classical knowledge; the discovery of the New World, a world unknown to the Scriptures and the ancient sages; the development of block-printing, introduced from China; and the rise of Protestantism. The effect of the first three was to increase literacy and to stimulate curiosity and inventiveness; the effect of the last was to bring about the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. Both of these claimed the Scriptures and the primitive Church as their sole guides, and thereby made all inventions impious....In the sixteenth century for the first time in the world's history, practical philosophy, that is science, formed itself in opposition to religion. Many men had held impious beliefs, but the telescope was the first impious invention; it enabled people to see things which ought not to have been there. The first impious discovery had been made by Vesalius, who

of Women and Children; Age-Classes; III. Social Differentiation through Personal Qualities; IV. Wealth as influencing Social Differentiation; V. & VI. Social Differentiation as influenced by the Development of Trades; VII. Social Amalgamation caused by the Amalgamation of Tribes; VIII. The Human Need of Mediators with the Preternatural world; IX. The First Appearance of Priests; X. Qualifications required by Aspirants to Priesthood:—Initiation of Priests; XI. Origin of Priesthood as a Distinct Order; XII. Classification of Priests and Distribution of Priestly Functions; XIII. Intra-Tribal Slavery; XIV. Extra-tribal Slavery; Enslavement through Captivity in War; XV. Further Sources of Slavery; Classification of the Slave Order; XVI. Nobility or the Upper Free Class; XVII. Council of the Influential Men and Chieftainship.

A large mass of ethnographical material has been marshalled by Prof. Landtman in support of the various points urged by him. These indeed constitute a mine of valuable ethnographical information. But unfortunately much of his material is gleaned from comparatively early ethnographical records whereas few recent accounts have been drawn upon except data relating to Kiwai Papuans which were collected by the author himself in 1910-1912. Another defect that might be pointed out is that owing to the author's evolutionary bias, certain sequences in the emergence of particular social phenomena that have been assumed do not appear to hold good in the case of all societies.

Apart from such defects inherent in the author's evolutionary approach, the book is a very interesting and valuable contribution to the study of the factors, extra-tribal and inter-tribal, that have contributed to the differentiation of social classes.

Folk-Songs from the Satpura Valleys. By Durga N. Bhagwat. (Reprinted from the Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. VIII, Part 4 for January 1940.)

In this book Miss Bhagwat has assembled and annotated samples of the poetry of the Gonds, Kāmārs, Ghāsiyas, Korkus, Bhāriyās, Dewars and Pardhāns living in the districts of the Central Provinces which are grouped round the Satpūra range. The songs are printed in Roman script based on Grierson's system of transliteration and are accompanied by translations in English. Her book has thus an obvious importance, for it is the first considerable collection of Indian popular poetry to exhibit translations side by side with the originals.

As the songs total 115 in all and are drawn from various tribes, the book is naturally more a miscellaneous introduction to the poetry of each tribe than a systematic survey of it. But such an introduction serves two useful purposes. It has given Miss Bhagwat the opportunity of explaining much of the symbolism current in the area and, through the poems, of indicating what magnificent reserves of poetry are awaiting system-

atic collection. As a preliminary to further work, her book is both a guide and a stimulus.

A few critical issues are raised by her method of translation. In many cases, the translation *expands* the poem, that is to say, it incorporates the *implied* meaning of the images instead of simply translating them. Take, for example, Poem 15 (page 7). The original runs—

Tōr ghūngaru jhulupa mē mai dāro tēl
Bambāi ke sadak mē
Mōrē Chīraīyā.

Miss Bhagwat translates this :—

I shall put oil on your beautiful locks
On the road through which pass the
rails leading to Bombay.
Oh my Sparrow ! My love.

A more strictly accurate version would be :—

'I shall put oil on your curly locks
On the Bombay road,
My bird !'

If 'Bombay road' refers to the railway, the scientific way would have been to explain the meaning in a note, instead of elaboration of it in the translation ; while although 'Oh my Sparrow ! my love' is a charming line it is clearly an amplification. In the first place, the original does not state that the image—'my bird'—is a symbol for a lover. It leaves it to the audience to recognise it as one. And secondly, the original uses the general term and does not single out any particular bird. It might equally well have been a *mainā* or a parrot. As it is, in selecting the sparrow, Miss Bhagwat

brings into play a whole range of English and European associations,—Venus and her team of sparrows, Catullus' Lesbia and her sparrow, Skelton's Philip Sparrow,—a range against which one at once sets her beautiful line but which is unhappily irrelevant, for the poem does not mention sparrow.

I have felt it worth while to make this point in detail since one of the uses of translating Indian popular poetry is to indicate the methods of the poetry and the relation which the poetry bears to society. This relation is shown most clearly in the way the images are used and if the image is used as a submerged symbol, it is, therefore, most important that the translation should show that it is. The fact that in English poetry we are unable to use symbols without explaining them (as in Miss Bhagwat's version but *not* as in the original) is a measure of the extent to which poetry in England is divorced from society. Among the tribes of the Satpura range, on the other hand, the very fact that symbols do not need explanation is itself a sign of their greater health.

In fairness to Miss Bhagwat, I should add that the example I have used to illustrate this point does less than justice to her translation style. For the most part, her translations are remarkable for their natural and effective English; and what is more, they are *poems*. With the exception of translations by Mr. Shamrao Hivale, Mr. Verrier Elwin, Mr. W. V. Grigson and Miss Mary Fuller, this is what no other translations of Indian folk

poetry are. Miss Bhagwat is among the very few whose translations of Indian poetry are also poems in alert and contemporary English.

W. G. ARCHER. (I. C. S.)

Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages of the Marāṭhā Country. By Irawati Karvē. (Reprinted from the Bulletin of the Deccan Research Institute, vol. I., no. 2-4, March 1940).

Miss Irawati Karvē has added another good piece of research to her credit by bringing out this elaborate account of the Kinship Terminology and Kinship Usages among Marāṭhā people of different classes. Not content with merely noting the standard relationship terms in general use, she has collected for each relationship all the different terms used by different classes of people in the Marāṭhā country including outsiders domiciled, as also terms not in general use but employed in proverbs and folk songs as well as in Marāṭhi classical literature from the 12th century onwards. Illustrative lines or passages from such literature have also been quoted. The terms in ordinary use, as every anthropologist knows, reflect the kinship usages of the speaker's community including the reciprocal duties and rights of different individuals in the kinship group, and thus furnish a key to the social organisation of the people. And as Miss Karvē notes, such variations and discrepancies as may occur between a system of relationship terms and the relationship usages, furnish a clue to culture

contacts, assimilations and stratifications.

The author has thus very usefully extended the field of research in this branch of social anthropology; and other workers in the field, it is expected, will follow her initiative.

Ancient Japan in the Light of Anthropology.
By Dr. Rynzo Torii. (Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, Tokyo, 1937). Pp. 22, and 14 plates.

This booklet contains a general preliminary discussion of the civilization of proto-historic Japan before the introduction of Budhism in the 6th century. No trace of the Palaeolithic Age has been discoverd in Japan, the earliest phase of culture discovered there being Neolithic. The Neolithic finds in Japan are, according to the author, of two kinds: one, those of the primitive inhabitants who were the ancestors of the present-day Ainu aborigines, and the other those of the "Japanese proper" or the ancestors of the present-day Japanese people. The three outstanding features of the neolithic culture of Japan are female clay figures (presumably female deities), coiling patterns, and pottery painted with vermillion. Dr. Torii does not mention how the neolithic cultures of the aborigines and of the 'Japanese proper' can be distinguished, the one from the other, except that coiling patterns are not found in the remains of the ancestors of the Japanese proper. He shares the view that the Japanese proper are a mixed race.

It is of the Protohistoric Age or the Age of Metals that we have more definite vestiges of the ancestors

of the 'Japanese proper'. Besides megalithic monuments, stone-circles, menhirs, tumuli, cairns, and dolmens, wheel-made pottery of symmetrical shape (as distinguished from 'basketly' shape and coiling designs of vessels of the ancestors of the Ainus), there is evidence of the practice of agriculture, the cult of clan-gods, shamanism and witchcraft among the ancestors of the Japanese people. The Iron Age followed immediately after the New Stone Age without an intervening Copper or Bronze Age. The culture of weapons is a special feature of the Japanese culture of this Age. The sepulchral mounds in which the dead were buried in their formal attire, together with weapons and other belongings of the deceased, indicate a belief in the immortality of the soul. The custom of "Junshi" (practice of killing the retainers and attendants or of allowing them to commit suicide, and burying them in a circle of attendant graves round the grave of their master), and the later custom of "Hainwa" (substitution of clay figures in place of 'Junshi') are noteworthy. Another interesting article of proto-historic Japanese culture is the *dōtaku* or bronze-bell which was a musical instrument intended for religious use and decorated with pictures of men pounding grain in the mortar, sleeveless costume, covered boats, houses built high above ground to be climbed with the help of a ladder, thus giving a glimpse into the life of the Japanese of those days. The illustrations are full of interest as the contents of the book are. It is expected that this short lecture will be followed up by a detailed account of Pre-historic and Proto-historic Japan.

Japan: Her Cultural Development, By Ryûichi Kaji (*Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai*, or the Society for International Cultural Relations. Tokyo, 1939) Pp. 74.

In this delightful and well-got-up and well-illustrated book we have a succinct account of the cultural history of Japan, written from the viewpoint of a much-travelled Japanese scholar and man of affairs who is now engaged in making researches in international affairs under the auspices of the Asahi Institute of the Far East. The book is divided into nine chapters as follows: I. Where West Meets East; II. Spirit of the East; III. Natural and Artificial Conditions (of Japan); IV. The Melting-pot of Human Civilization; V. Ancient and Modern; VI. The Meiji Restoration and Westernization; VII. The Rise of Capitalism; VIII. The Revival of the East; IX. The Present position of Japan: Conclusion. Two Appendices, one giving Statistical Tables (of Population, National Wealth, Trade, State Revenues and Expenditure, number of Diet Members and Voters), and another giving Principal Dates in Japanese History, complete this volume. In a small compass, this book serves as a good introduction to Japanese culture and its development. That culture was built up on the foundations of aboriginal Ainu culture by successive accretions of foreign cultural elements from India and China—mainly Indian Buddhist, Gandharan (made up of Indian Buddhist and Indo-Greek elements), and partly Scythian. These foreign cultures became

completely blended with the traditional culture of Japan. Our author writes, "Being ingenious and inventive, the Japanese people succeeded in establishing an original culture out of Chinese and Indian materials. (p. 10)...The fundamental principle which has run through the cultural life of the Japanese people from ancient times is to receive all foreigners and their cultures with open arms,...and to bring those new cultures to perfection by infusing into them the peculiar characteristics of both the land and the traditional culture of Japan". (p. 11) At the present day Japanese social life has been necessarily modernised or rather Westernised owing to the development of economic and cultural conditions. Mr. Kaji writes, "Japanese culture has not been always exempt from the influence of machinery and science, and it is only natural that the rational, active, and creative traits introduced from abroad have been accepted as the principles of social life. Nevertheless, the naturalistic elements in Japanese culture and life remain unchanged, and as they are checking the supremacy of the artificial factors, they are indispensable to the nation in creating an ideal union of nature and art". (p. 19) The Japanese people, we are told, have, "with some recent exceptions, consistently tried not to oppose nature, but to adapt themselves to it and, so to speak, to become one with it". "Japanese houses are chiefly built of wood, bamboo, straw, plaster, and the like, and constructed so as to mitigate as far as possible the extreme cold and heat. It would seem that the patience and passivity peculiar to the Japanese people are partly due to their

dwellings. They are inspired with the realistic and ascetic principles of early Confucianism as well as with the doctrine of transmigration and the attitude of resigned contemplation preached by Buddhism". (pp. 14-15) Our author claims that Japanese culture is, in a sense, "a museum of world culture" and a "treasure-house of human civilization", and that "the Japanese people think it their duty to make its contents richer than ever, and to present it to the world". (p. 57) In defence of the present activities of Japan against China, our author writes:—"China's inexhaustible resources are awaiting to be fully exploited by human enterprise. Is it not then quite natural that Japan, being equipped with highly developed industries and technical skill, but poor in natural resources and so barred politically and economically from other parts of the world, should embark upon that task ?...Japan would not make an enemy of the Chinese people, but wants to join hands with them in establishing a permanent policy for the mutual benefit of the two countries". (pp. 53-54).

Folk-Crafts in Japan. By Sôetsu Yanagi.
Translated by Shigeyoshi Sakabe. (The Society
for International Cultural Relations. Tokyo, 1936).
Pp. 55.

In this publication, Mr. Sôetsu Yanagi who is an art critic lecturing on fine arts at Senshû University, presents to the reader nineteen plates illustrative of Japanese folk-art, with descriptive notes to each plate. The book is prefaced by a short introductory

essay on "Cha-no-yu", the aesthetics of folk-art or what he calls "people's art" with special reference to Japanese ceremonial tea and tea-utensils. "In Japan, handicraft objects have long been treasured through the channel of ceremonial tea. *Cha-no-yu*, in the last analysis, is a means of harmonizing life and beauty, and various tea-things are highly valued as the instrument for the means. *Cha-no-yu*, then, may be thought of as an aesthetics of practical arts. In all its outfit, whether it be on the architecture, in the garden, or in the utensils, the first principle is utility and the adornment of life with refinement. Not beauty for beauty's own sake, but beauty answering all immediate needs of life—that is the essence of ceremonial tea". The introductory essay and the illustrations give a good idea of Japanese folk-art. Like other publications of the series, the book is delightfully well got-up.

Society and Its Development. By Rebati Burman (National Book Agency, Calcutta). Pp. 24.

This booklet purports to be the first volume of a "Marxist Study Course" in the form of short studies for beginners. It gives the outlines of socialist teaching in a simple and easy style. So much has been written upon the strong points and weak points of the socialist position, that it will be superfluous to criticise the weak points which are well-known to most educated person. So long as human nature remains what it is, so long as there remain natural differences in the capabilities of men, social classes

cannot vanish, although the *differentiae* of class divisions may ultimately change from economic to psychological or spiritual ones, and class antagonism will, let us hope, cease and an enlightened brotherhood of man will emerge.

The Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1939-40. Third Quarterly Part. (British Association).

This part contains the Presidential Addresses to section F., Economics, by Prof. H. O. Meredith; to section I., Physiology, by Prof. David Burns; to section J., Psychology, by R. J. Bartlet; besides summaries of communications to those sections. In addition to these, it contains the Fourteenth Annual Norman Lockyer Lecture, by Dr. H. Spencer Jones, F. R. S., on *The Atmospheres of the Planets*, and *A Scientific Survey of Dundee and District* prepared for the Dundee Meeting of the British Association in 1939. The latter survey consists of five papers, viz. *The Economic History of Dundee*, up to 1760, by S. G. E. Lythe, *An Economic History of Present-day Dundee* By J. K. Eastham, *Government and People—Social Services* by D. Latto, *Education in Dundee* by N. S. Snodgrass, and *Scientists of the Dundee Area* by Dr. E. P. Smith.

Ancient Indian History.

Ancient India. History of Ancient India for 1000 years [from 900 B. C. to 1000 A. D.] vol. III.

By Tribhubandas L. Shah. (Sashikant & Co. Baroda, 1940) Pp. 484. Rs. 9.

The author has been investigating the history of ancient India particularly in the light of Jaina sources which, he says, have not hitherto been fully known or accessible. The novel theories propounded in this work are indeed startling ; and the author does not appear to have succeeded in adducing convincing evidence in support of his contentions. Whether these theories stand the test of further research or not, search for historical truth by different workers from different angles of vision is all to the good. The great industry and zeal for research which the author has brought to bear on his undertaking deserve high praise ; but we doubt whether the results have been commensurate with the time, labour and expense involved. We have not had the benefit of reading the earlier volumes and are not in a position to say whether they come up to the mark.

Reflections on Indian Travels. By Chandra Chakraberty. (Vijay Krishna Brs., Calcutta). Pp. 252. Rs. 1. 8 as.

In the form of a book of travels this book purports to discuss the ancient history and incidentally ethnology, sociology and linguistics of different provinces of ancient India. The volume bears testimony to the vast reading, erudition, acuteness and ingenuity of the author. In so far as it summarises the established facts of Indian History, the book is useful and interesting. But

the author's subtle identifications of the Paurāṇic 'Yaksha' with the Australoids, the 'Rakshasas' with the Negroids, the 'Daityas' with the Mongoloids, the 'Danavas' with the Semites, the 'Mlecchas' with the Milesians, the 'Brāhmaṇ' with the Paraman (a Median Atharvan tribe of mixed Alpine-Aryan Origin), the 'Vaiśya' with the Besisi (a Malayan mixed Palae-Alpine tribe), the 'Kshatriya' with the *Khatti* of Syria, and the Sūdra with the Chuds of Estonia (a mixed Negro and Australoid tribe), and so forth, are not likely to convince his readers or at any rate most of them. The author sees in the iron bangles worn by Hindu wives the symbols of submission, being only, as he thinks, survivals of the handcuffs with which captured girls were bound to posts so that they could not escape; and the wearing of pig-tails (*sikhās*) by Brāhmaṇs and some other castes as a 'badge of slavery' now 'dignified almost to a religious observance'. In support of the latter theory he cites the Chinese practice and writes,—"In China the Manchu conquerors imposed upon the Chinese the wearing of pig tail (*quene*), by catching hold of which they could be easily whipped, as a badge of subjection". The author is evidently a medical man, and his accounts and discussion of the general diseases prevalent in different Indian Provinces are interesting and instructive; and his characterisation of the mentality of the peoples of different parts of India appears to be, on the whole, sound.

Architecture.

Fundamentals of Japanese Architecture. By Bruno Taut (*Kokushai Bunka Shinkokai*. Tokyo, Third Reprint, 1939). Pp. 36.

In this well got-up pamphlet is given the English translation of a lecture delivered by Dr. Bruno Taut at the Peers Club under the auspices of the Society for International Cultural Relations. An illuminative review of the fundamentals of Japanese architecture and an outline of its history is followed by a series of illustrations with descriptive notes exemplifying different types of Japanese architecture.

Ceramics.

Human Elements in Ceramic Art (in French). By Kikusaburo Fakui (*Kokushai Bunka Shinkokai*. Tokyo, 1936) Pp. 40, including 20 plates.

In this pamphlet is published a lecture delivered by the author to the Tokyo Women's Club. In twenty plates the author illustrates the different stages of porcelain manufacture in Japan. Ceramic art, we are informed, was introduced into Japan from China and Korea,—but was transformed into a new pattern of its own in Japan and has since continued to develop on its own unique lines. The author hopes that in Japan, the East and West will meet so as to produce a new synthetic world-culture.

Hindu Culture and Sociology.

Hindu Social Institutions, with reference to their Psychological Implications. By P. H. Valavalkar Ph. D. With a Foreword by Prof. Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan. (Longmans. 1939) Pp. xvii+388. Rs. 7·8 as.

In this work, which was accepted as a thesis for the Ph. D. Degree of the Bombay University, we have a thoughtful and careful study, based upon ancient Hindu scriptural and other literature, of ancient Hindu Social institutions and their ideological and valuational foundations. Our author seeks to show that the Hindu's fundamental attitude towards the problem of living is at the basis of all Hindu social institutions. Without entering into details, the gist of the book may be given in the words of the author as follows:—

"According to the Hindu, this life has meaning only as a link in a chain of links of births in the past; it is a stage of transition from past births towards future birth or births, unless *moksha* or 'final liberation' is obtained. The birth of a human being is but an opportunity for him or her to free himself or herself from the chain of births by living a life of *Dharma* (duties), as laid down by a succession of liberated ones (*muktas*) in the holy scriptures" (p. 4). "Liberation from the cycle of births and deaths can be achieved when there is no more *Karma* (action); and to attain this end, all desire (*vāsanā*) must be killed" (pp. 11-12). "The real fulfilment of the mission of one's life is possible for him who exerts to the best of his abilities towards acquiring the knowledge of the self, towards extinguishing his passions, and towards pursuing the study of the *Vedas*. Disciplined activity (*tapas*) destroys one's blemish; and knowledge (*Vidya*) secures

cessation from births and deaths. To attain to the highest state and so to be one with *Brahman*, one must be able to recognise the Self through the self in all created things and be just and equitable in his behaviour towards all. This is the real *Dharma* of man as prescribed by Manu." (pp. 19-20). "These various *Dharmas* (duties of man, viz. *Varna-dharma* or duties of the four classes; *Asrama dharma* or duties of the four stages of human life; *Varnāśrama-dharma* or duties towards the *varnas* and *āśramas* in their relations with one another; *Guna-dharma* or duties of persons with reference to their characteristic qualities; *Nimitta-dharma* or duties in connection with particular occasions; *Sādhārana-dharma* or duties common to all as human beings) prescribe the right *Karmas* for man. Of all *Karmas* (viz; sacrifices, rituals, discipline, harmlessness, liberality, study of the *Vedas*) the highest *dharma* of man is self-realisation (*ātma-darsanam*)."¹ (p. 23) "The man who knows (*vidvān*) should follow the *karmas* with a spirit of detachment and for the benefit of the people (p. 33) "All the institutions, social or personal, are further means of *dharma-samchaya* and are calculated to secure this, and of *mukti* (liberation) for the individual. The four *āśramas*, the *varna* organization, education, marriage, family, personal and social conduct—all these are means in this series to the one end, and must be followed in accordance with *dharma*. All *dharma*s and *karma*s have to be and can be so adjusted and manipulated that ultimately they will enable the individual to be free from his *karmas* and bring him face to face with the ultimate *dharma*, to cultivate and practise which alone he took birth."² (pp. 58-60) "*Āśrama* and *Varna*—nurture and nature of man—are the corner-stones of the theory of Hindu social organization. The whole of the life of an individual is, for the Hindu, a kind of schooling or self-discipline. The *āśrama* and the *varna* schemes are conceived as means not merely towards furthering the best ends of social organization, but also of social progress, stability and equipoise."³ (pp. 81-82). "In the first stage (*āśrama*), the group rears, protects and gives the best of his heritage to the individual. In the second stage, the individual yields his best and most for the efficient and harmonious functioning of group-life, consistent with the dictates

of his own conscience. In the third stage, the individual starts on a preliminary journey for self-search. While, in the fourth stage, the individual retires altogether from group activities and seeks to know and find and realise the self within the core of his being." (pp. 90-91) "The *Samaskaras* (sacraments prescribed for the first half of a Hindu's life) are so many stages in the process of the individual's socialisation, so that he may feel himself more and more at one with the community. Yet all efforts are made towards the socialisation of the man, but the man himself as an individual is not lost sight of. There are several ways and means prescribed by the *Dharma-Sastras*, with the help of which the individual is expected to cultivate his personality in spite of, apart from, and yet in the midst of a life pledged to serve social ends." (p. 2-20).

After discussing the institutions of Hindu marriage and Hindu family and the position of woman in Hindu society, the author finally discusses the psychology and merits of the organisation of Hindu society into four *varṇas* or social classes (which he calls 'a huge experiment in the management and direction of human affairs towards the perfecting of human ability in terms of the principle of heredity'). He frankly admits that "we have gone far astray from the original principles which governed the *varṇas*, that the hereditary aspect of the *varṇa* divisions has now come to be over-emphasized" and "the nurture of the individual in terms of the *āśrama* scheme has come to be over-looked and even neglected", and points out that the degeneration of *varṇa* and *āśrama* organisations is "due to historical causes; and therefore that in no way can it be said to be the fault of the ideology behind the *varṇa* and the *āśrama* institutions." As regards what is now known as the caste-system, our author says that

"the castes which are actually found in practice and which do not truly correspond with the theoretical fourfold division into *varṇas*, were designated in the law-books by the term *jāti*;" and he rightly points out that "the water-tight compartments of the *jāti*-system therefore are due to later Brahmanic interpretation of the term *varṇa*," and as Séenart says, "to interpret the Vedic testimony by the Brahmanic theory of a more recent age, is to reverse the order of things."

The book bears testimony to the wide reading and careful thinking which the author has brought to bear upon his thesis. It presents a scientific account of the ancient social institutions of the Hindus. Like our author, every thoughtful Hindu recognizes that though the form of the ancient institutions is more or less kept up to this day, the essential spirit is mostly found wanting. And, with Prof. Dr. Radhakrishnan, we have no hesitation in saying that "To all those who are now engaged in the task of revitalising Hindu practices and renovating Hindu society, the book will be indispensable." We would heartily recommend this scholarly work to all interested in the study of the (post-Vedic) ancient social institutions of the Hindus.

The Spirit of Indian Civilization By
Dhirendra Nath Roy, M. A., Ph. D. (University
of Calcutta, 1938). xix+296 pp.

The author who had been in Western countries was obviously acutely pained at the lack of appre-

ciation and even positive depreciation of Hindu culture on the part of certain Western writers and scientists of note who should have known better. By way of a reaction, the present book has been written to stress the superiority of Hindu civilization over Western civilization, with the result of unduly depreciating, if not deprecating, the latter. Of Western civilization Dr. Roy writes,—that its essential factors were mostly borrowed—art and philosophy from Greece, Ethics and religion from the Hebrews; and so on. "Western civilization is not an organized whole; it has not yet attained any real synthesis. It, of course, has all the elements of civilization (taken from various sources and held together by artificial means to take the name of civilization). But the first step of the progress of civilization is its internal organization. Besides, progress means continuation and a definite goal or ideal. Western civilization having so many alien sources cannot supply one single ideal to direct its movement and determine the measure of its progress....It is true that Western people have cultivated some of the factors of civilization in a manner unrivalled. But such development of a few factors of their civilization does not bring about its progress. While science and industry have been developed in Western civilization to a very high degree of perfection, its ethical and spiritual aspects have remained much neglected. Over-emphasis of some particular aspect of life to the neglect of others is an atavistic move from civilization....As a result of constant internal conflict, it (Western civilization) undergoes frequent changes. There is no help. The changes are endured under the consoling name of progress. The old prejudices and suspicions of the tribal kind are still there, although perhaps in some sharper and subtler forms. The spirit of competition and exploitation shows no signs of decay". Again, "The question is inescapable even to the West that if its civilization is most progressive, how is it that it seems to be heading to a collapse?"

Of India's civilization, the author writes,—"India's culture was born in the finer feelings of man—in the feeling of adora-

tion and adjustment. Adjustment was achieved by the Aryan culture with the other culture systems of pre-Aryan India. It refined them all into Indian type with the help of that cultural spirit. So Indian culture maintains a wonderful unity in the midst of a great variety, one lofty ideal behind all seemingly inconsistent ideas, one unique spirit behind all the varied appearances".

Though several quotations from ancient and modern writers occur in the book, references to chapter and page have been omitted. This is unusual in a scholarly treatise.

The impression left on the mind of the reviewer after a perusal of the book is that the polemical form in which it has been written might have been very well avoided, particularly in a book published by the premier University of India famed for its spirit of sobriety and sound scholarship. The book has several good things in it, but the employment of what looks like the usual defence mechanism of the weak detracts from its value.

Folk-Art.

Patua-Sangit (Painters' Songs, in *Bengali*). By Guru Saday Dutt, I. C. S. (Calcutta University, 1939). Pp. xix+116.

The gifted author of this book has done yeomen service towards reviving the old folk-arts—particularly folk-dances—of Bengal. In the present work he has turned his attention to the folk-poetry and folk-painting (complementary to each other) of a part of Western Bengal, viz. the Birbhum district of which he was in administrative charge during 1930-1933. In this book we have twenty-nine fairly long poems, collected from a number of

minstrels of the Painter (*Patua* or *Chitrakar*) caste, and seven prints of illustrative paintings prepared by them. The poems relate mostly to various incidents from the lives of the epic heroes Śrīkrishna, Rāmchandra and his father Daśaratha, from the lives of the god Śiva and his consort Pārvatī or Bhagavatī, from the life of the saint Gourāṅga or Chaitanya, and one song on the religious merits of Cow-tending,—topics that are of perennial and devoted interest to the folk-mind of Bengal. As the author writes in the Introduction, "These painter-poets of Birbhum have their hearts devoutly saturated through and through with the emotions and sentiments that flow as in a constant stream in the spiritual life of the Bengali folk, and, as devoted cherishers of those sacred emotions, they have succeeded in creating, in paintings, poems and music, the natural outward forms of their deep inner sentiments". (*Translation ours*).

Inspite of the provincialism of certain words and expressions used in these poems, the naturalness and grace, ease and simplicity of the poems make a direct appeal to the heart of even a refined audience when they are chanted or recited and of the educated reader when he reads them. Although the topics are mostly taken from the great epics which form part of the classical literature of India, they have been recast and moulded in these poems in the particular pattern of Bengali life, manners and ideals, and thus constitute in fact a new artistic creation. The energetic author and the Calcutta University deserve the gratitude

of all lovers of folk-art and folk-poetry for the publication of this highly interesting book.

Miscellaneous.

Physical Education for India. By D. S. Borker, with a Foreword by Major-General the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Sykes. (Allen and Unwin, 1940). pp. 111. 5s.

This book consists of nine chapters and three Appendices, headed respectively as follows. I. History of Physical Education; II. Theory of Physical Education; III. Athletics; IV. Games; V. Playing Fields and Recreational Centre; VI. Camping; VII. Medical Examination, VIII. Food and Malnutrition; IX. Care of the child. Appendices:—I. Laws and Rules; II. Measurement of Fields; III. Bibliography; IV. World Records in Athletics.

The author was India's first delegate to the World Congress of Physical Education at Stockholm and, as such, may be regarded as an authority on his subject. Sir Frederick Sykes says in his Foreword,—“Mr. Borker's book will, I think, help to arouse general interest in the subject and induce its readers to press for definite steps to be taken in this direction.”

Those engaged or interested in the promotion of physical education in India will find in this well-written volume, besides a concise history and theory of the subject, valuable practical suggestions for the improvement of health and nutrition and for providing

suitable recreation. Diagrams and illustrations add to the usefulness of the book.

How to Make a Little Speech. By Gertrude M. Allen. (Allen and Unwin. 1940) pp. 76. 2s.

This book of model speeches amply fulfils its object of serving as a practical guide to speaking in public for the ordinary man and woman on ordinary occasions such as banquets, wedding receptions, birthday celebrations, prize-distributions, farewell meetings, and the like. Forty model speeches are preceded by notes on Etiquette for public speakers, and things to be remembered by them (as to how to speak, how to memorize, how to stand, how to win the sympathy and interest of the audience). So far as it goes, the book satisfactorily fulfils the purpose for which it has been written.

Chandidās-Charita of Krishna Prasād. Edited by Jogeshchandra Rāy (Prabāsi Press, Calcutta). Pp. 235. Rs. 2-8 as.

This metrical biography of the first great Bengali poet Chandidās was probably composed between the years 1813-1815 by Krishna Prasad Sen on the lines of a biography of the poet in Sanskrit verse composed shortly after the year 1653 A.D., by Krishna Prasad's great-grand-father Kaviraj Uday Sen. The editor of the present book with great difficulty traced a copy (or rather copy of a copy) of the original MSS. and acquired it. With great pains

he corrected the MSS., modernised its orthography, and edited it with explanatory foot-notes and a short introduction giving a history of its composition and the discovery of the MSS. The great interest of the book lies not only in the poet's life-history written in the beginning of the last century (following a Sanskrit biography "Chandidas Charitāmritam" written in the middle of the 17th century as a result of research in and about the native place of the poet), but also in the various passages commenting on the customs and manners of contemporaneous Bengali Hindu Society, moral reflections and spiritual ideals of the writer, and so forth. The editor has done a real service to Bengali literature by bringing out the book.

MAN IN INDIA.

Vol. XX. } Oct.—December, 1940. } No. 4.

I. I MARRIED A GOND.

By

VERRIER ELWIN.

On April 4th, 1940, I was married under Act XV * of 1872 to Kosi, a Rāj Gond girl of the Armu sept, who lived in a village about twelve miles away from mine. But as my wife was, and remains, a Gond, this formal legal marriage had to be confirmed in my village by Gond rites. Had this not been done, no one would have believed that Kosi was a legitimately married woman, and I doubt if she would have believed it herself. There is always something wrong about the girl who has not been seven times round the pole !

That the Gonds should have been willing, indeed anxious, to perform this ceremony was a very remarkable thing. The Gonds, and especially the Rāj Gonds, do not look with favour on extra-tribal alliances. It is equally rare for a Hindu, Mussalman or Christian who marries an aboriginal

* This is generally known as the Indian Christian Marriage Act. The marriage laws of India are still in a state of confusion. Under the Special Marriage Act, as amended in 1923, two people holding different religions can only be married if they declare that they do not adhere to their faith. But Sections 4 and 27 of Act XV provide for marriages between Christians and non-Christians.

to allow her to retain her old religion and culture. She is invariably converted to the faith of her husband. The family of the Gond Rājā, Bakht Buland, who was converted to Islam by Aurangzeb, still to this day only take girls of pure Rāj Gond families; they marry these first by Gond rites, then convert them to Islam, and re-marry them by Islamic ceremonies.

Our Gonds insisted on a tribal ceremony and performed it with enthusiasm. This was probably because I had been living with them for many years; they declared that they would not do it for any one else. Kosi's family was automatically excommunicated, but the neighbours re-admitted them to their tribal privileges after a small penalty feast had been given. Kosi's father, brothers and other relatives came to the marriage and received the customary gifts.

There was no suggestion, however, that I should be admitted into the Gond tribe. There is, in the first place, no one body into which I could have been admitted. My wife's family is only 'in communion' with a handful of Rāj Gond families, who themselves do not eat with other Rāj Gond families, who in turn are separate from the ordinary Gonds, though there is little to distinguish the less orthodox Rāj Gonds from the Gonds in Mandla. The only condition on which one could be admitted into any section of Gond society would be the impossible one of regarding all other cooks and kitchens as taboo. My wife, for example, though she is accepted as a Gond and may take part

in all the Gond rites and ceremonies, does not observe the kitchen taboos and therefore none of the tribesmen would eat publicly from her hands. In private, many of these taboos are quietly ignored.

In this article I am simply describing what happened at my own wedding. It must not be taken as an account of a regular Gond marriage, for there is no standard Gond marriage. The rites vary bewilderingly from District to District and even from time to time. I have attended scores of marriages and have never seen two that were quite the same.

My marriage followed the general outline of the use of South Mandla. There were various modifications, chiefly of stress, and a few omissions. The absence of my own family and the omission of the wedding procession were the chief causes of modification. The Baigās and Agāriās contributed some elements—such as the marriage elephant—not usually present in the Gond rite. On the whole, however, the course of the marriage followed closely the normal use of the neighbourhood.

My institution is established mainly in two village centres. One is Pātan, near the Narbadā River; the other is Sanhrwachhāpar, on the bank of the Siuni, nine miles in the forest. For purposes of the marriage, the Pātan house was regarded as the bride's house, and the Sanhrwachhāpar centre as mine. The *barāt*, or marriage procession, was omitted, and the ceremonies began at the bride's

house *—it being assumed that I had already arrived and was camping in my *janwās* (bridegroom's camp).

The First Day.

The ceremonies began with the arrival, at about four o'clock in the afternoon, of a number of women to grind the *haldi* (turmeric), whose yellow tint is the most striking part of the marriage colour-scheme. As they ground the *haldi*, they sang a rather monotonous song:—

Where does the grindstone come from ?
 Where does the *haldi* come from ?
 O the grindstone comes from Ramnagar,
 The *haldi* comes from Haldinagar,
Tari nani nana re tari nani nana !

Who will take the grindstone ?
 Who will take the *haldi* ?
 Her father's father will take the grindstone.
 Her father's mother will take the *haldi*,
Tari nani nana re tari nani nana !

How shall I carry the grindstone ?
 How shall I carry the *haldi* ?
 You will carry the grindstone on a buffalo.
 You will carry the *haldi* on a bullock.
Tari nani nana re tari nani nana !

How many miles must we carry the grindstone ?
 How many miles must we carry the *haldi* ?
 O you must carry the grindstone a mile.
 O you must carry the *haldi* for two.
Tari nani nana re tari nani nana !

* It is generally said that in a Gond marriage, the procession starts from the bride's house, and the ceremonies are performed at the bridegroom's. This is an over-simplification of the actual procedure. The procession sometimes starts from the bride's, sometimes from the bridegroom's, house—there is no absolute rule—and the marriage is performed partly in one, partly in another.

Where are we to unload the grindstone ?

Where are we to unload the *haldi* ?

O you must unload the grindstone at the entrance to
the booth.

O you must unload the *haldi* at the door of the house.

Tari nani nana re tari nani nana !

While this was being sung, the Dosi arrived. The Dosi is not exactly a priest, for the Gonds have no priests; he is more like a Master of Ceremonies: he says what is to be done, and performs many of the more important ceremonies. Our Dosi was a well-known Gond magician (though he need not have been a magician) called Gunhāri. With him came the three other chief officiants—the Suāsā, Mr. Shamrao Hiyale who took the part of my brother and was for all practical purposes the Best Man, and the two Suāsins—Baigin and Ahilyā—who were something more than bridesmaids. Baigin was in attendance on me, and Ahilyā on Kosi.

The Dosi's first duty was to take the omens by the little rite called Lugin. A pot full of water was placed on a pile of rice that had been newly husked near by. Round it was put a *sutia-torc*, a necklace of black beads, and two iron bracelets. An earthen lamp was lit, and incense of *sarai* gum offered on a small bit of smouldering cow-dung. Then the Dosi and Suāsā each took a grain of rice and flicked it into the water in the pot. A good omen is recognised when the two grains come together tip to tip and then swing round and lie side by side. Any other combination is held unlucky. In this way the Dosi tested his own fitness for his duties and that of

the other officiants, the direction in which the marriage pillar should be placed, where the marriage earth should be dug, and the suitability of bride and bridegroom, whether they would stay together and whether they would be happy. I must say that I found this a very exacting rite to watch. My grain and Kosi's floated round the pot with maddening deliberation, approached each other, drifted away again, but at last came together tip to tip and swam on side by side. All was well, and the Dosi 'drowned' the grains with a flick of a bunch of grass.

The Building of the Maruā.

It was growing towards evening. Suddenly across the hill came the delightful music of the Dadaria Songs, triumphant and excited, from a hundred youthful throats. A great procession of boys approached the house, carrying the leafy boughs of trees to make the Maruā or wedding-booth. They sang :—

Cut down, cut down
The many-leaved bamboo.
Cut, cut the leafy boughs.
Bring leafy branches for the booth,
And lay them close together.
Or moon and sun
Will burn my bride,
And my bride will die of thirst.

When they reached the front of the house, they piled up the branches in a great pyre, and a small log of *saleh* wood was brought out. The women who had assembled to greet the party now tried to capture this log, and there was a vigorous struggle, which ended in the victory of the boys. The

result of this struggle is believed either to show whether a boy or a girl will be the first fruit of the marriage, or whether the husband or wife will have the ascendancy in the house. After this the log of wood was taken aside to be shaped and patterned into the Mangrohi, and the boys were escorted into the court of the house by the women singing,—

The mango swings against the sky !
O my sweet enemy, take my life,
And I will care for yours.

And

O the mango in the valley !
O the creeper on the hill !
Come to me, my love,
And I will hide you in my dress.

Still singing, the boys built a large booth in the middle of the court with the boughs of *sarai*, mango and bamboo. Mango leaves were strung on string and hung round. The Mangrohi, coloured and patterned, was placed in the centre. A small plantain tree was planted beside it and a branch of *saleh*. Two *hirānotis* were brought out of my Museum and placed beside it. The *hirānoti* is a triumph of the Agāriā's art, almost the only beautiful thing he makes. It is a sort of lampstand, with two horned deer jutting out on one side, on the other cobras with hoods erect to strike, and at the top a man facing a bird across a lamp. It is considered a great honour to have one of these at a wedding.

While the booth was being built, the women were preparing the two *kalsās*. The *kalsā* is an earthen pot which is filled with rice and closed

with a small earthen lamp. It is beautifully decorated with grains of unhusked rice fixed on to its surface with cow-dung; the pattern is enlivened with circles of red and yellow rice. As they were decorating the pots, the women sang,—

Who will tattoo the *kalsa*?
 The seven Suasins are asleep in the booth.
 Who will tattoo the *kalsa*?
 The bridegroom's sister is the sugar of love.
 She will tattoo the *kalsa*.

And when they were ready they placed them in the centre of the booth before the Mangrohi.

But now a small mud platform had to be made round the Mangrohi. The omens had shown that the earth for this must be dug towards the east. So presently a procession, led by the Suasins carrying the lighted *kalsas* on their heads, went singing into the garden, and the Suasā dug up some earth with a rice-pounder. The women filled their sāris with it, and carried it to the booth. As they came, they sang a pretty song about the bride.

O whence comes the deer dancing and leaping?
 O where is the green grass on which she will graze?
 She has come to graze on the green grass of Patan.
 Let us make the deer sit on her throne.
 We will wash her in water from the decorated vessel.
 What can we give this lovely deer to smoke?
 We will give her a pipe filled with sugar and tobacco.

Then the Suasā and the bride's Suasin—for this was the bride's Mangrohi—mixed the earth with water and plastered a little platform round the Mangrohi, placing the *kalsā* in front of it. Two little slabs of wood were also put on the

hiranoti; these were the *pidhā*, to be put under the feet of the bride and bridegroom. 'For they are Rājā and Rāñī for two and a half days, and their feet must never touch the ground'. Now too the women sang :—

Who will plaster the Mangrohi ?
The seven Suasins are asleep in the booth.
Who will plaster the Mangrohi ?
The bridegroom's brother is the sugar of love.
He will plaster the Mangrohi with earth.

The Preparation of the Bride and Bridegroom.

On the first evening, the bride and bridegroom are carefully removed from *le monde profane* into *le monde sacrè*, where no witch or ghost or evil spirit can harm them. I was irresistibly reminded of the evening before an operation, the diet, the purge, the shaving of the hair, the painting of the body yellow with picric acid, the sense of being someone separate and apart, in the midst of great dangers but with all the resources of science at one's hand. Here too we were coloured yellow with the *haldi* paste. The Dosi put a heavy silver torc round my neck and a necklace of black beads. He gave me an iron *betel*-cutter to hold. On my wrist he set a bracelet of Virgin Iron. This was sent specially by my Agāriā friends, and was of great importance. Virgin Iron is the first iron to be extracted from a new furnace. The ore must be dug from a new, or virgin, pit by a virgin boy. The charcoal used for its smelting must be made from new wood kindled with virgin fire—

that is, fire made freshly by the fire drill or saw. The bellows must be blown by a virgin girl, and the chaff on which the bloom of iron settles must have been ground in a new virgin mill. This is the iron that is more efficacious than any other in magic; it cannot be bought for money; it is an unfailing protection against the wiles of hostile heaven.

The Second Day.

Early on the morning of the second day, the bride's Suāsin must bring water from the river that has not been yet fouled by bird or animal. The bride woke and sang—

Up, sister, tie your *sari* !
Bring untouched water
Which no bird has fouled.

And when the Suāsin came in with the water, the bride again sang—

Up, mother, tie your *sari* !
Greet the water
Which no bird has fouled.

This water was used later to cook the *khichri* with which the bride and bridegroom were fed.

The Anointing.

Shortly after dawn, the bride and bridegroom, each in their separate camp, were anointed with oil and *haldi*. A crowd of women came into my house, and first made the *chok*, a pattern on the floor with flour. While doing so they sang,—

O elder sister, bring fresh cow-dung,
And prepare the four corners of the room.

Do not let the lines of flour run crooked,
But go as straight as moon and sun.
So all the city folk will come to gaze,
And your name will long remain.

In Kosi's house, they sang,

Black clouds gather,
Rain patters down.
O brother, let go your little calf,
That she may feed
On the tender shoots of grass.

Then all my clothes save a small loin-cloth were removed, and I was made to sit on the lap of my Suāsin's maternal aunt. The *kalsā* was put in the middle of the flour-pattern and its lamp was lit. My feet were put on a *parra*, a round bamboo basket-cover. Behind me stood my 'army', four boys with wooden swords and guns, who henceforth went with me everywhere, holding their weapons above my head whenever anything was done to me.

Seven women now placed their hands, palm upwards, on my head, and my Suāsin brought an arrow and set it above the hands, and the Suāsā poured oil down the arrow and let it trickle on to my head and over my body. Then five virgin girls touched me with *haldi* on feet, knees, hands and forehead. After that the two Suāsins covered me with *haldi* seven times, a most chilly and unpleasant operation, but one which again emphasised the solemnity of the rite and the 'separateness' of its chief actors. The women who stood round sang,—

Said the moon, "I am greater,
I am greater".
But the yellow *haldi* said,
"No, I am as great as you." "
Said the moon, "No ! I am greater,
I am greater."
But the yellow *haldi* said,
"I set men in the right way,
And I am greater than the moon."

Then the two Suāsins put me on the *parra* and picked me up, swinging me to and fro. They carried me seven times round the *kalsā*, and out to the door, each time touching the threshold with my left foot. When that was done, I was put down again in front of my *kalsā* and left shivering but resigned, while everybody went to do the same thing to Kosi.

For her the ritual was the same, but now began the curious custom of trying to make the bride weep—the singing of the *Dilhi-rōnā* songs. First, however, they sang a *haldi*-song,—

O my darling, I brought you sixty seers of *haldi*,
But they could not cover all your body.
O my darling, I brought you sixty yards of cloth,
But they could not cover all your body.
O my darling, I brought you sixty seers of oil,
But they could not anoint all your body.
O my darling, I brought you sixty bangles,
But they could not cover your arms.

Then they tried to make her cry. One of the old women sang,—

My daughter grew as quickly
As a tender shoot of grass,
And never will she be able
To return the milk she drank.

And Kosi answered,—

O mother, I grew as quickly
As a tender shoot of grass,
And I never will be able
To return the milk you gave me.

Then all the women exclaimed, ‘How sorrowful a gift is a daughter, for she makes us weep not only at her death but while she lives.’

Soon, to my great relief, I heard the party coming back. Someone put a country cot out in the sun, other people brought pots of water (which I insisted should be hot!). I was lifted up by two men—for I must not now walk anywhere—I am a King for two and a half days!—and carried out into the warm sun and set on the cot, in the lap of my Suāsin. Four people held a sheet over my head, another climbed up with a pot of water, someone else held the *parra* above me. The water was poured through the *parra* over my head, and then I was thoroughly and properly scrubbed and washed all over. I was carried back into the house, and dressed in a yellow *dhōti* and a long cassock-like garment. Someone made all sorts of patterns in red on my feet, and a *mukut* or crown was put on my head. I was rather disappointed with this *mukut*; I had hoped for one of the old palm-leaf crowns, but the villagers said they would be themselves disappointed if I did not have something more gorgeous. So I had to wear an affair of coloured paper, which at least had the advantage of being what the modern Gond wears today.

While I was dressing, Kosi was being bathed, and a bathing song was sung.

If there was a well in the middle of the court,
And its mouth was covered with heavy stones,
And across it lay a plank.
There our daughter would sit and bathe,
And the city folk would come to gaze,
And our name would long remain.

Then we both got a little respite, and I was carried out on to the verandah where I could watch the dancing.

From dawn, a Dhulia had been sitting near the booth drumming vigourously on two large *nangarās*. He had been joined a little later by a company of Dhuliā dancers from a neighbouring village. These, I thought, were very good indeed. There was a charming little boy in girl's clothes and covered with girl's ornaments, and his elder brother, with two musicians. They put up an excellent show of village dancing and acrobatics.

About four in the afternoon, I was carried out of the house on someone's back. As my height, with crown added, was now something like eight feet, this was a clumsy business. The idea was that I should be carried round the village on horse-back. But the people insisted on having the car, and in this we went very slowly in procession, preceded by the drums and dancers, to the house of the leading Gond in Patan. As I was carried in, my feet were washed by his wife, and I sat in the house for a few moments. Then we returned to the bride's house. This, by a slight

geographical fiction, represented the coming of the bridegroom's procession from his camp to the house of the bride. I was lifted out of the car and made to sit on the ground facing the house. From afar Kosi, who had also come out with her attendants, had watched our approach and she began to sing the traditional bride's song at the coming of the bridegroom.

O brother, put on your creaking shoes.
Take your cudgel in your hand,
Mount the spotted colt,
Beat this hunchback this side and that !
Drive this trifler home again !
Give him five rupees, my brother.
How nice he looks !
But inside he is cruel.
Give him five rupees, my brother.
So that he'll go home.
Give him five rupees, my brother,
Let him go away !

Then the bride's party attacked us with sticks and spears, but my own "army" with their wooden guns and swords fought valiantly, and of course we had to win—for the husband at a Gond wedding is a hero not subject to casualties—and at last everyone embraced and the swords were laid at my feet. Kosi was brought by her attendants and put on the ground beside me. This was our first meeting. The Dosi had gone to sleep somewhere and could not be found (a highly characteristic touch!) so Shamrao gave me the Chulmündri ring. This is a very special ring made of Virgin Iron and copper; I had to put it on Kosi's finger. But she had to clench her fist tightly and

I had to open it with one hand—no easy business when you are hampered by a crown and a desire to observe everything that is going on. But at last, after a desperate struggle, and many ribald comments from the crowd, I got her hand open and slipped the ring on the third finger of her right hand. In return she put an iron ring on the third finger of my own right hand and we were carried into the house.

We were now given a rather pleasant little meal of what is called *chilā rōti*, *hālwa* and *khichri*. We sat together (Kosi, of course, entirely covered with *haldi*-stained garments, and I was not allowed to speak to her) and various friends put the food into our mouths. While we were eating, the women again tried to make Kosi cry. ‘O the beautiful parrot,’ they sang,—

What a sweet and lovely parrot it was !
 It climbed and climbed on the steps of the house.
 It was singing all the time.
 O mother, you have sold that talking parrot.
 What greed possessed you, mother,
 To sell that beautiful parrot ?
 How long will the money last, mother ?
 But you sent your parrot to live lonely in the jungle.
 You will open the bag,
 You will peep at the rupees.
 But your parrot has gone into exile.
 O what a sweet and beautiful parrot
 That climbed about the branches of your tree !

Then Kosi herself, who was not—I noticed—weeping quite so much as might have been expected—sang,—

O father, you get a pile of rupees,
 But for me there's only a heap of broken earthenware,

O father, for you there's a lot of wine,
But for me there's only water from the river.
O mother, for you there's a beautiful *sari*,
But for me there's only a spider's web.

The Tying of the Knot.

Then came the Dosi, at last awake and not in the least ashamed, and tied us together. I was wearing a sort of scarf that went under my arm and over my shoulder : the Dosi tied a knot near the end of this, putting in the knot a *supāri* nut, a copper coin and a bit of Virgin Haldi. He tied another knot and then tied this and the end of Kosi's *sāṛi* together. The likeness to an umbilical cord joining us together was remarkable, and possibly has some meaning : I would not like to say.

Kuāri Bawar.

There is no English equivalent to the *Kuāri Bawar*, and I have no explanation of its meaning. We were taken out to the booth, Kosi in front as it was her booth, and went round the Mangrohi five times. We sat down and the Dosi and the Suāsā performed *Tikā* (I will explain this presently). Then the cord was undone, and we were carried back to our separate 'camps'. All the time, of course, the drums thundered and the women never stopped singing. They taunted the unmarried girls who were present :—

The *saj* tree withers on the mountain.
The *goñja* grows old on the hill.
May that family decay
That lets its daughters grow old in the house.

The wheat is killed by rust,
 The pulse is ruined by frost,
 The *mahua* tree is struck by lightening,
 And all the liquor-vendors weep.

We rested for a time and the people began to crowd into the court and many visitors came. As they entered, the women sang —

In the father's house there grew a fragrant tree.
 Its scent spread through all the world.
 The bees swarmed round it.
 O father, send a flower to your father and mother.
 When he heard the news, grandfather saddled his horse.
 Grandmother prepared her litter.
Dip dip dip dip the litter came.
Hin hin hin hin came the horse.
 O mother, light the golden *kalsa*
 And bring it to the marriage-booth.

The Barā Bawar.

It was now almost sunset when we were taken out again for the *Barā Bawar*. This was the central point of the whole ceremony, the slow perambulation by bride and bridegroom round the Mangrohi pole. Here in Pātan was the bride's Mangrohi and we were to go round it three times, tomorrow we would go to Sanhrwachhpar and go round the bridegroom's Mangrohi four more times.

The Dosi tied us together again. The bride's Suāsin led the way, holding the bride's left hand by the little finger; she had a pot of water in the other hand, and let a few drops of this fall to the ground as she went along. I followed, holding my betel-cutter in the left hand which Kosi grasped in her right. With my right hand I shielded my face with a bamboo fan.

We walked very slowly round the pole, my 'soldiers' guarded us with their swords, and others threw rice at us. I had to press the bride's heels as often as possible with my toes. Some of the women sang *gālis* in curiously reverent voices and a tune that reminded me of Sarum plainsong. 'Look at the fox gaping from side to side ! Look at that brother-in-law of a monkey ! He doesn't know how to walk, that brother-in-law to a pig, the hunchback, fie on him !' and so on.

After we had been round twice, we were made to sit down on a strip of carpet opposite the Mangrohi, which looked very pretty with the decorated *kalsās* in front and the *hiranōtis* blazing with light. A plate with rice, *haldi* and curds was put before us, and another plate with a pot of water. Then the people came one by one for *Tikāwan bhadawan*. Each in turn placed our feet in the brass dish and poured water over them. They picked up a little rice and *haldi*, daubed some on the *kalsās* and Mangrohi, put some first on my forehead and then on Kosi's, and 'kissed' us each by touching us lightly under the chin. The more well-to-do dropped a rupee into the dish, others put a few annas or even a few pice. Most of them also gave one pice to the Suāsin and a pice to the drummers who, whenever anyone of importance came, redoubled their din and shouted 'So and so has come to do his *Tikā*'.

When everybody had come and gone, we were led round the pole for the third time, the knot was undone, and we were taken to our separate

camps for food and sleep. The women wanted to sing and dance all night, but we had had enough.

The Third Day.

Early next morning I was to carry off my bride to my house at Sanhrwachhapar. A large party went ahead and waited for us on the road. We followed in a gaily-decorated car. Before we started, the women again tried to make Kosi weep by reflecting on the dismal fact that she was being taken away from her mother's house to a stranger's land. The word 'stranger' is traditionally used for the bridegroom—it was not applied to me because I did not belong to the tribe.

The mango and the tamarind
Bloom in her father's garden ;
The parrot eats the leaves.
Take grain in your hand
And comfort this poor parrot,
For she is flying to a stranger's tree.
Come down, come down, my parrot,
Come rest in my lap.
I will console you, my parrot,
For you are flying away to a stranger's tree.

Another simile used to describe the bride is the rather obvious one of the calf.

You have tied the cow beneath the tree—
You have driven out the calf
To wander in a strange land.
You have pulled up the thorn-bush with its roots—
You have bent down the *parsa* tree to the ground—
O brother, I was never bent down by your words,
But now a stranger's words will bend me.

And at last Kosi herself answered them—

The water-pots look beautiful
Ranged on their stand—
So did I look beautiful
Fetching water from my river.—
O mother, O mother, your daughter
Looked beautiful in her own house—
But now she goes alone
To a stranger's home.

Then away went the car. We passed through half a dozen villages on the way, and at each a group of women was waiting for us with a rope stretched across the road. We were only allowed to go on our way after paying suitable toll.

At Sanhrwachhāpar, we found another marriage-booth ready, with the bridegroom's Mangrohi, and a great crowd of people. Some of my Baigā friends had come with a magnificent elephant made of three cots for the body, two winnowing-fans for ears, a fish-trap for trunk, a broom for tail, the whole covered with country blankets: Kosi and I had to sit on this and we were hoisted up into the air and carried round and round the booth. Then the Suāsā was carried round, and then Kosi's two brothers.

We were then led through the booth into the house. The usual amiable *gālis* were sung, and our feet were washed. An old woman came with a rice-pounder and a curd-churner tied together and decorated with *sarai* leaves. This was passed seven times to and fro over our heads. Then the bride's Suāsin did *sigh*—she warmed her hands at the flame burning in the *kalsā* lamp and put the warmth with her hands on our forehead. A

great many people did this: it is a pretty way of welcome.

We were taken into the house, and fed again with *khichri* and *chilā rōti*. A large number of women came and sat round singing and talking. We were able to rest till the afternoon.

At about four o'clock, the Dosi again tied the knot that joined us together and we went to the booth for the Barā Bawar. This was performed exactly as on the day before, except that this time it was my Suāsin who led the way, and Kosi followed me. The Tikāwan too lasted much longer and I found it most exhausting—for it was a very hot day.

When the seventh circle had been made we were led back into the house. A lot of women stopped the way, and would only let us go in when we promised them various presents. We sat down, and the Dosi and another old man came to deliver the Marriage Sermon.

The Marriage Sermon.

'As bullocks are yoked to a plough, so too have you two been yoked together today. Listen, brother, when she is foolish, do not despise her thinking her a mere daughter of the forest. Never find fault with her, or grumble at her. And you girl, never say he is bad, he forgets me, he does not love me, and so leave him. He is English. He has come from another land to love us. From how great a distance have you and he come together, over land and sea, over mountain and

forest, drawn together by fate. To you he is Rājā ; to him you are Rāñī, and because of you two we are all of royal blood. And listen again, brother ! Today you eat her tender flesh ; tomorrow do not despise her bones. Never leave this girl, nor leave this country, for she is yours and this land is yours. All things taste sweet as they ripen, but with a woman it is not so. But you must consider her always, and in your mouth she must taste sweet even in her old age. And brother, for love of this girl do not forget us. For love of woman makes a man forget all things and turns his mind aside.

'And now, take this girl. We are giving you a winnowing-fan full of gold. Use it well. Eat and live in joy. Live for age after age. Of one may there be twenty-one by the grace of God.'

Till late at night the drums thundered and the people danced and sang. A great feast was cooked and eaten, every man with his own tribe-fellows.

The Fourth Day.

Early next morning we were up, and ready for the river. The events of this morning were the most picturesque and memorable and I will never forget them—the walk down to the river in the early sunlight, the sparkling water and the gaily dressed crowds, the ordeals I had to face.

We were dressed, the drums were ready, we were knotted together again, and we set out in a long procession through the forest to the Siuni River.

As we went, the boys and girls sang Dadariās antiphonally, and sang them very well.

Come to the bank of the sparkling river,
And I will show you what is in my heart.

You catch the fish and I will cook it.

The love of my friend takes me out of the world.

Come to the deep stream and take your vows,
Holding water in your hands.

They are all working in the field.

My girl, meet me down by the river.

O my girl, somehow I will catch you—

Even if you hide beneath the water, I will drag you
[out.

When we reached the river, our wedding garments were removed, and the bride's Suāsin sat down on the bank with her feet in the water. I had to sit in her lap, and Kosi in mine, with the result that Kosi was practically sitting in the water. We now did the Beni Chōdnā ceremony, or the undoing of the plait of hair that had been tied that morning for both of us. First I untied Kosi's hair and then she untied mine. The rite probably symbolised mutual help in domestic matters.

Then before I knew what was happening, the *parra* was held over my head and a pot of very cold water emptied all over me. Kosi jumped up and ran into the river. I had to chase her and beat her once or twice with my clenched fist.

The bride's Suāsin had brought down to the river the *kalsā*, and a dish of bread and sugar. Kosi now picked up the *kalsā* and waded out into the river with the Suāsin. They swam about for some time concealing the pot under water, and let

it go without letting anybody know. I then had to go into the water and find it. I had always thought, reading about this ceremony; that there was nothing in it, but I can assure my readers that to find a small pot in a deep, muddy and swiftly-flowing river is no light task. It took me a long while to the great delight of the watching crowds, but I found it at last and held it up in triumph. Then I hid it and Kosi and her Suāsin searched for it. It took them even longer, but they too found it at last, and then everybody plunged into the water for a swim.

Kosi and I were taken out and dressed. The cord was re-tied. Kosi put the *kalsā* on her head, someone gave me a bow and arrow, and we began the procession home. After we had gone a few yards, we were stopped. The crowd parted, forming a lane ahead of us, and some way ahead the Dosi drew a circle with flour on the ground and on it placed a model of a deer made of leaves. It was a very fine deer and stood up bravely. Kosi stood in front of me holding the *kalsā* with one hand, and I had to shoot through 'the pretty loophole thus formed' (Dalton). With her free hand she put bread and sugar in my mouth without turning round, and also 'fed' the bow and arrow in the same way. Then I drew the bow and fired at the deer.

The first shot I slightly wounded it in the head. We went on, stopped again, repeated the

process, and I missed five times. This was very serious, but I fancy that even an expert *shikāri* (which I am not) would find himself somewhat embarrassed with a crown, a cord attaching him to his newly-married wife, a singularly clumsy bamboo-strung bow, and a large and amused crowd looking on. But this was no time for excuses, the crowd were getting facetious—for the symbolism of the shooting was obvious to the meanest intelligence—and Shamrao was told to stand ready with a stone to 'kill' the deer in case I missed it the seventh time also. But the seventh time I was lucky; I sent a perfect shot right through the deer where its heart would have been, and the boys with shouts of triumph picked it up and carried it home swung on a pole across their shoulders. It was a great relief—Oxford was not decadent after all.

When we reached the house, we were met by a group of women who again washed our feet. The Suāsin brought out two little slips of coloured wood on the *parra*. Water was poured over them. 'Look', they cried, 'The babies are weeping'. More water was poured over them. 'Look, the babies are pissing'. And they tipped them into the fold of Kosi's sāri and made her clasp them to her breast.

We went into the house, the cord was for the last time untied, the crowns were removed, and the wedding garments laid aside. The drums broke into a last triumphant tattoo, and everyone went home.

Some Conclusions.

A Gond marriage has very little religion in it. The most important religious rites are the offerings to appease Dulhā Deo the marriage godling, and the ancestors who live behind the hearth. Where members of the Tekam or Baghel septs are concerned, Baghesur Pāt must also be appeased with gifts. The Dosi muttered *mantras* of the usual type whenever he did anything. In our marriage, no one seemed to think the offerings to the godlings would be necessary and, these omitted, the ceremony was seen to be what I believe it always was, a purely social rite. It has Hindu elements—such as the use of *haldi* and the circumambulation of the pole—but these are not given a Hindu meaning. Indeed it may well be that here we have the raw materials which the later Hinduism borrowed from the aborigines.

But though this rite could hardly be called a sacrament in the sense that the Christian or Hindu rites could be called sacraments—it seems to me to possess immense social and sexual significance. I can hardly conceive of a better way of impressing on a man and woman their social and sexual union. The tying together of the clothes, the exchange of rings, the first meals together, the processions hand-in-hand, the sitting together with the knees closely pressed against one another, the ceremonies by the river that symbolise mutual aid in domestic, sexual and food-obtaining activities, are all of great significance.

No man or woman who has been through this ceremony can ever become wholly indifferent to the partner of it. It is true that many Gonds, Baigās, and Agāriās do not co-habit with their 'married' partners, but that is often due to the folly of their parents in forcing them into this highly significant and entirely adult ceremony too young. But even when they have left the partner of their marriages, Gond men and women never, I think, forget them. There is a peculiar and special bond which can never be broken, and no wonder ! I have already mentioned the sense of 'separateness', the sense of having been made spiritually and socially aseptic at the beginning of the proceedings. Henceforward everything conspires to make the bride and bridegroom really feel that they are the Rājā and Rāñī of two-and-a-half days—really four. The constant attention of the 'soldiers' with their swords, of courtiers with their fans, of people who carry you everywhere, the songs that are made about you, the gifts and the friendliness that is given you—you cannot lightly forget these things. I feel profoundly grateful to these poor and humble men who admitted us to their mystery and gave us their blessings.

II. NOTES ON TWO URAON MARRIAGES.

By
W. G. ARCHER.

A.

I am giving below some notes of two Uraon weddings which I attended on February 26, 1940 in Karamtola, Ranchi. Karamtola is an Uraon tola on the northern outskirts of the town. The rites were in some ways markedly different from the norms of procedure in Gumla, Jashpur and Mahuadāñī thanas, and also from the rites described in *Oraon Religion and Customs*.¹

The houses in which the weddings were celebrated were about seventy yards apart and the rites went on side by side without seeming to influence or disturb each other. There was a time lag of about an hour between when the procession for the first wedding came out of the village and the time when the second marriage started. But otherwise the lines of action were fairly parallel.

At the first wedding, Mangra who was the son of Lothe Uraon of Karamtola was being married to Dhuchia daughter of Phekua Uraon of Baram (a village six miles off). The marriage talks had started two months ago and no bad omens had been noticed during the visits of the *punches*.

¹ This description relates primarily to Bero and Mandar thanas, Ranchi. It may be noted that the Uraons of Karamtola are what is known as "Kera Uraons," that is to say, Uraons who speak a corrupt dialect of Mundari instead of the Uraon language.—Editor.

So the wedding had gone on. In the second wedding, Dhelu, son of Sanicharwa Uraon of Karamtola, was being married to Chare, daughter of Sanicharwa of Boreya, seven miles away. Here also no bad omens had occurred to mar the talks.

In both the courtyards, a *mārwā* or marriage bower had been put up. In Mangra's case, it consisted of two *sāl* posts projecting from the roof of a room and supported by two posts which were planted in the ground. A bamboo mat and a large mango branch comprised the roof. When I first saw it, it was after the girl's party had been conducted to the house and by that time, a paddy-draped pitcher (or *Kārsā*) and a bamboo box had been brought back from the boy's procession and put down under it. Beside them had been arranged a grass pad, a wide shallow basket with a little rice and a small round basket. All the baskets had scarlet marks, and inside the bamboo basket were some wisps of thatching grass, a little earth from a plot of rice land, and some *urid*. I did not stay however to see whether any other use was made of it. In Dhelu's case, a separate shed had been put up on the eastern side of the main courtyard. It was also made of *Sāl* wood poles but, as I shall note later, it was not actually used for any ceremony but merely kept off the night air from the guests who sat or lay about beneath it.

When I reached the village, it was about four o'clock in the afternoon with sultry clouds massing in the sky. Dhuchia's party had arrived and was

quietly dancing on a *maidan* a little distance from the village. Apart from two or three boy-drummers, the dancers were all girls and women while the bride was huddled on the fringe. Presently the drums were answered by other drums and a small procession sallied from the village. An old man led it with a small wooden disc² on his head. Then came a woman with a baby and a red paper flag;² and then a woman with a paddy-draped pitcher (or *karsā*), while, after her, there was a woman with a pot of water and a mango twig, a boy with a flare, and another woman with a bamboo basket on her head and a tiny straw ladder dangling from her shoulders. Girls in twos and threes walked along with them and in the middle of the crowd Mangra's father, Lothe, went quietly along. Mangra was not in the procession as he had been formally left behind to await their return.

There was a moment of great excitement when the little procession from the boy's village reached the girl's. The girls from the boy's side formed extra lines and joined up with the girls of the girl's side and immediately the dancing got wilder and the lines went round and round with a jolly flopping swing. While the two parties were fusing, Mangra's father quietly put Dhuchia on his back and carried her over to his house.

The dancing went on for a little longer and there was then a drift back to Mangra's house.

² So far as I could discover, these were only play objects, and their aim was only to add to the air of fantastic jollity at the wedding. Compare below the garish effect of the violet powder.

When I reached it, I found that Dhuchia had been put in a room with her two brides-maids. The courtyards then began to fill with the girls and women of the two parties—each group dissolving in the crowd and then reforming into lines of dancers. Mixed with the singing, a good deal of simple leg-pulling went on—all of it done with saucy merry looks and leading to a great deal of laughter and nudging.

After a little while, the brides-maids led Dhuchia out of the room and she went over to her party. They all trooped over to the *bāri* and sat down by a stack of straw. Some girls of Mangra's house then came to wash their feet and, while they were doing this, other girls from Mangra's side came into the courtyard in a surging mob and a general dance ensued, with the drums thundering and the singing coming shrilly through the din.

Three girls from Dhuchia's side then brought in some baskets of boiled and unboiled rice, some scarlet powder and ornaments and went slowly over with them to the quarters set aside for their party. These baskets were later on formally exchanged with baskets from the boy's side.

All this time, a good deal of by-play was going on. A small boy ran up behind a girl and tried to pull her down with a straw lasso and the girl made a mock attempt at spanking him. There was a good deal of desultory romping. And every now and again dancing broke out and little lines of girls went swinging round. An old

lady who was slightly drunk acted as a mistress of the ceremonies and as the girls went round she wobbled in front of them and made humorous lunges. During some of the pauses, the older women did a little dancing on their own, with roguish looks as if they thought they were being naughty. Three of them had babies who swung on their backs as they danced.

After some more coming and going, we reached the dance of the *Samdhis*. For this, Mangra's mother and his aunt brought out a yoke, a grinding stone and some thatching grass and put them under the *mārwā*. Dhuchia's mother and her aunts then drew near and as soon as Mangra's aunt had taken a mango twig and sprinkled the objects with water, there was a general scramble each seizing what she could. The group then straightened itself up, the yoke was held up and they swung round in a little dance, beginning with a gallop and ending with a gentle swinging of the ankles. As they danced, they waived the wisps of grass and brandished the yoke. When the dance was over, Mangra's mother and the girl's mother went inside a room and put on the new clothes each had given the other. Their departure was the signal for yet another dance in which all the other girls joined—jostling, waiving, pulling and pressing, while on the edge two old women bumped each other's bottoms.

By this time, it was five o'clock and I then went across to Sanicharwa's house. Here, the

proceedings were starting with a *natua*³ dance, and there was a good deal of din and excitement. Two enormous trumpets supported by poles were blaring out and three boys with a chorus of seven or eight striplings were strutting and posturing in the dance. The central boy had some ribs of red cloth over his white coat, some peacock's plumes strapped to his arms and a ring of bells at his ankles. He carried a fist-ful of green sprigs in each hand, his first companion had a small bamboo stick and the second danced with a red stave. Their faces and those of the little boys were dabbed with white powder. The dance figures consisted of a series of 'warlike' postures—a brisk rapid twirling, ending in a 'stand and deliver' stance, a fierce bold advance with a swagger and shake of the ankles, finally a mock combat clinched in a taut quivering of the limbs.

After some preparatory dancing in Sanicharwa's courtyard, we moved out and went down the village street in a straggling procession. The pace was slow as the boys went on dancing. A country candle or flare was carried in a brass dish and two women walked along—one with a Kārsā and the other with a pot of water and a mango twig. As in Mangra's case, the procession went out without the boy.

³ A *natua* dance is not so much an Uraon dance as a general Chota Nagpuri-Bihari form assimilated by the Uraons. In Rauchi District, Kharias and Mundas also use it and in Dhanbad it is used by Kurmi Mahtos, Rajwars, Bhuiyas, Ghatwars, and Santals. Grierson in *Bihar Peasant Life*, (p. 301) states that it is the term used by Ahirs in South Bhagalpur to describe a man dancing the cowherd's dance of *loriyaro*. It could be said to cover almost any form of virtuoso stick-dancing by a male.

As we came out of the village, we saw Chari's party a hundred yards off dancing boisterously on the *maidan*. When they saw this, the Karamtola girls spread out into a long line and slowly dancing, bore down on them. As they reached and mixed, the dancing got quicker and noisier. Four girls caught each other and formed a tight little square. In the middle a group of girls danced with violet powder on their faces. In the hair of the visiting girls, wisps of thatching grass tossed as they swung and flopped.

While the excitement was getting greater and greater, Dhelu's father, Sanicharwa, quietly put Chari on his back and carried her off followed by her mother, aunt and her two bridesmaids. When he was half way back to the village, the *nāṭua* dancers came up with the throng of girls and plunged into their midst. The dance then became a whirling confusion—the boys leaping and brandishing their staves, at times jumping free of the girls and at other times being overwhelmed in the colliding groups.

It was now getting dark and nothing new was anticipated for some little time. So I went back to the Circuit House for dinner and at ten o'clock again went down to the village.

When I arrived at Sanicharwa's house a little after 10 p.m., I learnt that Chari had been taken in and washed and that she and Dhelu had then put the scarlet powder on each other's foreheads. This had been done privately and without cere-

mony, and after being put on, it had been taken off. There had then been the dance of the Samdhis in the *mārwā* over the yoke, the grinding-stone and grass; and the central ceremony was now in progress. But instead of taking place in the *mārwā*, it was going on inside an inner room.

When I went inside, I found a raised lamp with three wicks in it in the centre and round it the leading figures were grouped as on the two sides of a square. In the side that faced east sat the best man, then Dhelu, then Chari, and then her bridesmaid; while at right angles to them and also facing the centre were Dhelu's father (Sanicharwa) and Chamu Munda (the village Pāhāu). Behind Dhelu stood a *kotwar* holding a drawn sword * and at his side there was first Chari's elder sister to do the ministering to Dhelu and next to her was Dhelu's sister to attend to Chari. The room was crammed with people, mainly women, who pressed round the seated figures in the fluttering light and kept up a loud and continuous singing of marriage songs.

In front of Chamu, there were two brass trays containing 2 *sindur* boxes with arrow-shaped heads, two little pans of oil and two leaf-cups. When I arrived, Chamu with a solemn dignity was very slowly mixing the oil from the two pans. When this was done, he spilt a little on the ground. He then took some *sindur* from each of the boxes

* The object of this is primarily to scare away evil spirits but as with the arrow-shaped heads of the Sindur boxes, it may act also as a form of sexual symbolism.

and put some on two *sāl* leaves. One he gave to Chari's sister and the other to Dhelu's. After that, a small pot of rice-beer was brought, we were all sprinkled with a mango twig dipped in water and Chamu then poured some rice beer into a leaf-cup. He then formally spilt some on the floor and drank what was left; and then Sanicharwa drank and the rice-beer was circulated among all the older men.

This libation proved the prelude to the final process. While the *punches* where drinking, the two elder sisters took up the little pans of oil and commenced anointing the two boys and girls. Chari's sister took up the boy's pan and rubbed oil into his hair and on to his face. She then rubbed his hair and combed it with a comb belonging to Chari. Occasionally she gave him some playful slaps and buffeted his head. When she had thoroughly kneaded the head, she went on to his legs and arms. After she had finished Dhelu, she went through the same process with the best man.

While this was being done by Chari's sister, Dhelu's sister was doing the same to Chari and her companion. There was the same slow patient massage, the same kneading of the glossy skin, and just as Chari's sister used Dhelu's oil, and Chari's comb, so Dhelu's sister used Chari's oil and Dhelu's comb for massaging her limbs and combing her hair. Throughout the process Chari sat as if in a stupor,

When the massage was over, the scarlet powder (*sindur*) was applied. Dhelu's sister brought out the *sāl* leaf which Chamu had given her half an hour earlier and pressed some powder first on the forehead of the girl and then on the forehead of the boy. Chari's sister then produced the other *sāl* leaf and pressed some powder first on the forehead of the boy and then on the forehead of the girl. Then Chari's sister made Dhelu hold the *sindur* box and taking some scarlet powder from it she again daubed the foreheads. After this, Dhelu's sister made Chari hold the other *sindur* box and with its powder, she also repeated the marks. Finally, five additional marks were given—two at the corners of the eyes, two on the lobes of the ears and a fifth in the centre of the forehead—this final dabbing being expanded to include both the bridesmaid and the best man. All the time that this was being done, the marriage songs went loudly on and the leaf-cups of rice-beer were handed round like loving-cups.

When the giving of the scarlet powder was over, we moved out into the courtyard and sat under the *mārwā* and about ten minutes later, the boy and girl came out and went respectfully round touching the feet of the *punches* in salutation.

It was then almost midnight and I left with the proceedings petering out into drowsy talk and desultory drink.

I am told that a little later a short marriage sermon was given to Dhelu and Chari in the

mārvā, the samdhīs then put scarlet powder on each other's foreheads and put on the new clothes which were then exchanged as presents between them, and in the early hours of the morning, the party at last sat down to a meal. At this meal, Dhelu and Chari formally exchanged their food—Dhelu tasting his first and then giving it to Chari to finish, Chari tasting hers first and giving it to Dhelu to finish. At about 4 o'clock the next afternoon, the *chumāwan* and giving of presents took place and after a short farewell address by Chari's brother, Chari left with her husband for her new home.

B.

It will perhaps be of interest if I summarise the main points in which these Ranchi ceremonies differed from the variations which are current further west in the Uraon country.

So far as the preliminaries are concerned the important differences are :—

1. the marriages took place at the boy's house⁵ and not at the girl's.
2. the girl's party arrived before and not after dark.
3. the boy was not in the procession which met the girl.
4. apart from a preliminary examination at the time of negotiation, there was no public verification of the bride-price.
5. Karsas (or paddy-draped pitchers) were carried by the bridegroom's party, but not by the bride's.

⁵ But compare Jashpur thana where this is the norm.

6. in Lothe's house the dance of the Samdhis preceded any putting of Sindur on the bride and bridegroom.

So far as the central ceremony in Sanicharwa's house is concerned, the important differences are :—

1. The putting of sindur on each other's foreheads by the bride and bridegroom was private and took place in the obscurity of the girl's house.⁶
2. There was a second public ceremony in which sindur was put on their foreheads by the two elder sisters—also inside the girl's house.⁶
3. The mārwa was used partly as a rest shed and partly as a dancing stage but not as a wedding altar.
4. A yoke, a grinding stone and some thatching grass were used in the dance of the samdhis but *not* in the sindur ceremonies. The bride and bridegroom did not stand on them and they were not even brought into the room.
5. There was no pressing of the ankles.

⁶ This is also the procedure in Bero and Mandar thanas (S. C. Roy, *Orao Religion and Customs*, pp. 157 and 158).

III. TOTEMISM AMONG THE GONDS.

By

M. P. BURADKAR, M. A.

Research Scholar, Nagpur University.

[Continued from Vol. XX, Page 143.]

Section—III.

PHRATIC TOTEMS.

We get phratic totems mainly in the Chanda district, though exogamous phratries exist among almost all the Gond sub-tribes. The phratry, as has already been pointed out, is an exogamous division intermediate between the clan and the tribe. These phratries are recognised by the number of gods each of them worships. But in the Betul district, in addition to this mark of recognition, they possess other names. There, the seven-gods-worshipping and six-gods-worshipping clans are called Dhurwa and Uika respectively. The phratries among the Hill Mārias do not bear names, while those among the Bison-Horn Mārias and Muria Gonds are totemic in name.

The exogamous phratries and the phratic totems that we get in the Chanda district are as given below:—

<i>Exogamous phratries.</i>	<i>Phratic Totems.</i>
1. 'Sātdeve' (worshippers of seven gods.)	'Sui' (Porcupine)
2. 'Sahadeve' (worshippers of six gods)	'Bāgh' (Tiger)

3. 'Pāchdeve' (worshippers of 'Sāras' (a kind of five gods.) crane.)
4. 'Chārdeve' (worshippers of 'Marpachi' (Tortoise) four gods.) or
‘Magral’ (crocodile.) ⁴⁰

The members of the clans included in a phratry reverence and adore their phratric totem which they hold in superstitious awe. Many, specially the 'Chārdeve' Gonds, avoid uttering the names without an appellation of 'god' (Deva) affixed to the totems such as Sui-Deva, Bāgh-Deva, Sāras-Deva and Kasav-Deva. The tortoise and the tiger totems have indeed grown into totem gods and though the worship of the tortoise has been confined to the tortoise clan and to the clans included in the phratry worshipping four gods, that of tiger has become universal Bāgh Deva has thus become an object of worship to all the Gonds, irrespective of clan, phratry or tribe. The 'Chārdeve' Gonds avoid looking at a tortoise which is their phratric totem, and fold their hands in its honour if they accidentally happen to see it. They hold it sacred and will neither catch nor eat it, and if caught by others will try to effect its release, if possible. They look upon the tortoise as their saviour and consider it a sin to touch it. Though this belief is dying fast in the localities where they have been living in contact with the Hindus for a long time, it has a firm hold on the mind of the people inhabiting the wild tracts

⁴⁰ Some clans own the crocodile as their totem, but the majority own the tortoise.

of the Gond country. The other phratic totems—the Porcupine and the 'Sāras' Crane—though they have not developed into totem gods are equally honoured by those whose totems they are.

According to Frazer,⁴¹ in pure totemism 'a man looks upon his totem as his equal and friend, not at all his superior, still less as his god.' Regarded in this light, the phratic totems enumerated above cannot strictly be called totems since the attitude of the Gonds to their phratic totems is not one of equality. They are here called totems simply because they evolved, as will be subsequently shown, out of the clan totems. In course of time, the regard for other clan-totems excepting that of the leading clan waned and this totem became an object of adoration and worship to all clans included in that phratry.

It may be noted that in the Chanda district there are certain other phratries, for example 'Tindeve' (worshippers of three gods) and 'Bāradeve'⁴² (worshippers of twelve gods), among whom phratic totems are non-existent. It is also significant that no clan at present in the Chanda District recognises any totem except the phratic one. The clan totems which they once recognised have since been transformed into clan-names.

In the northern part of Bastar, the Muria Gonds⁴³ are divided into exogamous phratries

⁴¹ Frazer, *op-cit*, Vol. IV., Page 5.

⁴² *Maria Gonds*.

⁴³ Russell and Hiralal, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. III-P-67.

bearing totemic names in Gondi and Hindi. These totemic phratries some of which are noted below contain several totemic clans with names in Gondi.

1. Bakravans. (Goat stock.)
2. Kāchhimvans (Tortoise stock.)
3. Nāgvans. (Cobra stock.)
4. Sodi. (Tiger stock.)
5. Behainsa. (Buffalo stock.)
6. Netam. (Dog stock.)
7. Chamchidai. (Bat stock.)

Like the Muria phratries mentioned above, the Bison-Horn Mārias also possess the following totemic phratries.⁴⁴ :—

Phratry.	Totem.
1. Marvi.	{ 1. Goat 2. Cobra.
2. Kuhrami or { Kadiari }	Cuckoo.
3. Sodi or Odi.	Tiger.
4. Karkami, Kawasi or { Wanjami.	Tortoise.

Each of the above phratries is exogamous and contains a certain number of clans within itself. A few clans only realise the significance of their phratric totems and abstain from touching or harming them. Some clans have indeed their own totems which are quite different from the phratric ones. In case of those clans it is the clan, not the phratric totem, that matters. To the

⁴⁴ W. V. Grigson, *The Maria Gonds of Bastar*, Pp. 306-307.

majority of the clans now, the phratic totems are nothing but names of their phratries. The Sodi clans have even adopted another totem. They abandoned their tiger totem and have adopted the buffalo in its stead. The change occurred because of the break of relationship between the clansmen and the tiger who, they think, attack the clansmen now, unlike in the past.⁴⁵

The phratic totems are of later origin. They evolved out of the clan totems.

Origin of the Phratries. The phratries which exist amongst the Gond tribes would appear to have evolved out of the two class system,⁴⁶ which once prevailed amongst all the Gond sub-tribes and were in origin socio-religious groups. They, in course of time, became exogamous.

In the early totemic stage the social unit of the Gond community was the totemic clan, the bond uniting the clansmen being their totem. Gradual-

⁴⁵ W. V. Grigson *Op. Cit.*, page 240-41.

⁴⁶ The existence of the two class system can be proved from the following facts :—

1. The system of relationship prevalent amongst all the Gond tribes is substantially a classificatory one.
2. The custom of cross cousin marriage, is widely prevalent. Its origin is in the bisection of the community into exogamous moieties.
3. The observance of the exogamous system that obtains amongst these people in the different localities discloses the fact that the two class organisation is predominant every where.
4. Children of two women belonging to the same clan and phratry are prohibited to marry each other. Marriages between certain 'classificatory' grand-parents and grandchildren are permitted.

ly as the Gond tribe advanced in culture, they began to practise 'fire and axe' cultivation⁴⁷ on patches of land in their native forest and thus reached a semi-nomadic stage of life. This was not without corresponding intellectual and moral development. This transition of the Gonds from nomadic to the semi-nomadic life and the rise of communal religion among them affected their social organisation. The comparatively settled life and the communal worship of the gods and deities of their native forest necessitated some socio-religious organisation on a basis broader than that of the clans; and that too with broader aims in view. This new social organisation was that of the phratry.

The bond of neighbourhood as well as of communal worship knit the clans into phratries. **Origin of the phratric totems.** and so far as this organisation was concerned the totemic bond weakened as it was inconsistent with this expanded social organisation of the Gond community.

The settled life of the Gonds and the development of organised religion and also of the political power among some of the sub-tribes led to the gradual decay of totemism. The phratries came into existence in the circumstances explained above and, in course of time, totems of the leading and prominent clan in each of the phratries became an object of reverence and adoration to all the clans included in that phratry. This view is confirmed by the fact that in the Chanda district, where the phratric

⁴⁷ 'Dahia' or 'Bewai' method of shifting cultivation.

totems still survive, each phratry contains the clan bearing the name of the phratric totem. The totem animals became sacred and in some cases were even worshipped subsequently. But they no more believed nor do they believe now, that they are descended from these animals.

The clans—totemic and others—among these people are exogamous i.e., a man **Totemic clans and exogamy.** is not permitted to marry in his own clan. He must seek his mate in a clan other than his own. The nature of Gond exogamy being complicated, needs further explanation. Among the Gonds, the marriage prohibitions not only extend to a man's own clan but to several other clans with which his clan forms the exogamous phratry or class. The clans included in the same exogamous phratry consider themselves 'Bhaiband' (brethren); and such being the case, marriage can take place only between persons of two different clans belonging to two different exogamous phratries or classes.

These restrictions in respect of marriage in case of the Rāj Gonds of the Chanda district extends still further. Among these people, certain exogamous classes viz., Pāchdeve and Sahadeve, even recognize fraternity among themselves. The clans included in the above phratries are not permitted to marry among themselves and they must marry women of the clans not included in the above phratries. It is, however, to be noted that in those sub-tribes of the Gonds among whom

phratries no longer exist, the clan is the only exogamous unit of the social organization.

Persons of the same totem are deemed to be closely related to one another even

Totem Bond extends beyond the phratry and the tribe. though they may belong to different phratries or different sub-tribes. An

individual of any one of the several totems belonging to the distinct phratries or sub-tribes is a close relation to all others of the same totem both in his own and all other phratries or sub-tribes. But this bond is recognized only so far as marriage regulations are concerned.

Among all the Gond tribes descent of the totem is hereditary and in the male line, that is children always belong to the clan of their father and not of their mother. But there are reasons for thinking that the descent was originally in the female line and that the change to the male line has been a subsequent development.

Descent of the Totem.

So far we have been treading on theoretical ground. But there is strong evidence leading to the conclusion that among these people descent was once matrilineal. Amongst the Gonds a man is permitted to marry his paternal grand-father's widow; so also he may marry his daughter's daughter.⁴⁸ Such marriages, though rare, actually take place. Even in the plains we come across marriages in which men have married their elder brother's daughter's daughters. Besides, the above

⁴⁸ Russell & Hiralal, Vol. III—page 72.

two forms of marriage we get relics of the form of marriage in which a man married his mother's brother's widow. Now, all these forms of marriage arose in the dual organisation with female descent in a state of society in which the elders somehow acquired so dominant a position in the community that they were able to monopolise all the young women of the moiety in which they were permitted to marry. The late W. H. R. Rivers, was of opinion that whenever we have evidence of the existence of marriage with wives of the father's father and mother's brother, we may conclude that the dual organisation with matrilineal descent was the older form of social organisation.⁴⁹

Now, since we have come to the conclusion that descent among the Gonds was once matrilineal, it is logical to deduce that the present patrilineal descent is a subsequent development; for the change is invariably from mother-right to father-right and never the other way about.⁵⁰ There are many motives which induce men to exchange mother-kin for father-kin.⁵¹

⁴⁹ W. H. R. Rivers, *History of Malanesian Society*, Vol. II (1914) page 64.

⁵⁰ R. R. Marett, *Anthropology—Social Organisation*. Page 169 *Foot-Note*.

⁵¹ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, Vol. IV—Page 132.

Section—IV. TOTEMISM AND RELIGION.

The preceeding survey of the Gond beliefs and practices in connection with **Relation of a man to his totem.** their totems gives us some idea of the relation in which a man

stands to his totem. To describe exactly such relation is almost impossible, firstly because, as already pointed out, this institution is decadent among the Gonds and secondly because the thoughts of the savages, even in the totemic stage are vague confused and contradictory. We have to bear in mind 'that totemism is not a consistent philosophical system, the product of exact knowledge and high intelligence, rigorous in its definitions and logical in its deductions from them. On the contrary it is a crude superstition, the offspring of undeveloped minds, indefinite, illogical, and inconsistent.'⁵² Besides this it is significant to note that many of the Gond tribes have been living in contact with the Hindu castes among whom this institution is absent. Again, totemism among the Gonds has its own development peculiar to its environment.

We get glimpses of the relationship that subsisted between a man and his totem in the primitive totemic society in the Gond songs recorded by the late Rev. S. Hislop. The episode of the tortoise and the alligator in these songs gives us a vivid idea of the relation in which a man stood to his totem.

Lingo, the divine and moral prophet of the Gonds after delivering them from the bondage of Mahadeo, who had kept them in captivity because of their distasteful and degraded life, was encamped along with them on the bank of a river, when it suddenly began to rain heavily and the river

⁵² Frazer, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. IV page 4.

was in flood. All the Gonds except Lingo and four others crossed the river in a hurry and reached their destination. Lingo and the four Gonds stood on the bank of the river thinking what they should do, when a tortoise and an alligator who were playing in the water came to them and enquired why they were standing there, knowing they were not in a position to cross the river, they said:—

“O brethren, how shall we go ?

Sit on us and we will take you across.

If you keep your OATH we will take you across the river.

They replied : Here, O Sister you are Pusi the alligator and you are dame the tortoise.

Those four persons before you will keep their OATH first of all.

If any beat you we will not allow it,

or if any [try to] catch it we will prevent it.

You shall be the elder sister of us four persons said they.”⁵³

Thus Lingo sat on the back of the tortoise and the four Gonds sat on the back of the alligator who having taken them in the midst of water began to drown them. Lingo at the suggestion of the tortoise stretched his hand and dragged them all on the back of the tortoise who took them all safely across the river, when they went across the river they fell at the feet of the tortoise and said ‘Hear, O tortoise, we will not become faithless to you.’⁵⁴

A careful observation of the above episode points to the conclusion that the relation in which a man stood to his totem is one of friendship, kinship

⁵³ Rev. S. Hislop, *Aboriginal Tribes of the C. Ps.*

⁵⁴ Rev. S. Hislop, *The Gond Songs*—Part IV—lines 1-21

and mutual assistance. A man regards his totem as his friend and relation. The tortoise helped the Gonds and got them out of danger on promise that they will neither allow any one to beat or catch it; and the four Gonds when they had crossed the river promised not to be faithless to the tortoise. It is significant to note that in the above episode the original Gondi word, for 'Oath' or 'Promise' is 'PADI'⁵⁵—the word used to indicate one's totem. The original meaning of the very word in the native tongue of these people to indicate the totem unfolds the relation in which the individuals stood to their totem. The relationship is that of the promise to keep up the terms of the agreement made and pure totemism is 'a treaty of alliance concluded on equal terms between a clan and a species of animals or things.'⁵⁶ Thus the relationship between a man and his totem, the glimpses of which we get in the episode narrated above, is indicative of pure totemism that once prevailed among the Gonds. This relationship of equality, friendship and mutual assistance gradually underwent a change. Emergence of religion *proper*, perhaps out of magic that held a strong sway on the mind of the people in totemic society, and the rise of secular power consequent on the advance of culture among them, resulted in the corresponding decay of totemism; and the totems which were once regarded as kinsmen and friends began to be adored, at least in some cases, as totem-gods.

⁵⁵ Rev. S. Hislop, *Op. Cit.*, Part IV—Lines 9, 17 and 138.

⁵⁶ Frazer : *Op. Cit.*, Vol. IV.—Page 28.

This change of relationship is clearly visible in the slightly different local version of the above episode.

According to this version⁵⁷ the four Gonds, Tekam, Markam, Pusam and Telangam, who could not cross the river because of the flood stood on the bank and cried out:—

‘O God of the Crossing,
O Boundary God,
Should you be here,
Come take us across.’

Hearing this, the tortoise and the crocodile came up to them and offered to take them across the river, promising that they would not eat or drown them in the water. They, however, did not keep their word and when they were all in the middle of the river, they began to sink with a view to drowning them and feeding their young with their flesh; but the Raigidhni or vulture heard their cries and flew to them and took them up on its back and flew ashore with them.

It is apparent from the very manner of the address that the attitude of the Gonds towards the tortoise and the crocodile is not one of equality; It is religious in so far as it implies the acknowledgment on the part of the Gonds that the tortoise and the crocodile whom they address as gods are superior to them. As already pointed out the ‘Chärdeve’ Gonds hold the tortoise sacred and adore it as the totem god. Some clans included in this

⁵⁷ Quoted by R. V. Russell in ‘*Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*’ Vol. III—Page 61.

phrathy hold the crocodile sacred too, but such clans are very few. This changed attitude indicates the decay of totemism as 'in pure totemism such as we find it among the Australian aborigines, the totem is never a god and is never worshipped. A man no more worships his totem and regards it as his god than he worships his father and mother, his brother and sister and regards them as his gods.'⁵⁸

The growth of totemism in the direction of religion becomes clearly visible if we compare the legend regarding the origin of the totems, current among the Gonds of the Betul district and the traditions which the clansmen recount in support of their clan-names. The legend simply connects the ancestors of the various clans with the totem animals and trees which are supposed to have helped them when they were in danger. In it no divinity is attached to them; their traditions explain their totemic names by saying that some incident connected with the animal, tree or other object occurred to the ancestor or priest of the clan while they were worshiping at 'Deo-Khalla' or God's place.

Totemism among the Gonds gradually developed into a kind of totem worship—
Evolution of to-tem in Totem Gods. worship of animal and plant, but the process of evolution could not have its free course, it being in a large measure checked and cut short by contact with their civilized Hindu neighbours. We have

⁵⁸ Frazer, Vol. IV, page 5.

already seen how some of the Gond gods evolved out of the totems, the tiger totem, evolved into the Tiger-god, 'Bageshwar,' in the northern part or the Gond country, with its counterpart 'Wagh Deo' in the south. The cobra totem too developed into the cobra god 'Nag Deo.' It is not only the totem animals, but trees also that show signs of blossoming out into gods. The worship of the 'Tađoba' (palm-tree god) in the Warora tahsil of the Chanda district and of 'Nurma' (god evolved out of Karam tree totem) one of the household gods of the Gonds may be cited as some of the instances. The development did not stop here. Totemism among the Gonds developed into a worship of anthromorphic deities with sacred plants for their attributes, one example of which may be cited here from the Mandla district. The members of the Nabalia Dhurwa (Nabalia = dwarf date palm) clan worship their Great God (*Bāđa Deo*) in the dwarf date palm instead of in the Saj tree in which the Gonds usually worship their God, making an iron doll to represent him and covering it with palm leaves.⁵⁹

Superstitious beliefs and practices of the Gonds in regard to animals and plants

Totemism is one of the forms of superstition. which are their totems have been surveyed so far. It has also been observed how in some cases the totems developed into totem gods and anthromorphic deities. But in this respect it should be remembered that totemism, in fact, is only one of

the multitudinous forms of superstitions connected with animals and plants. The Gonds have other superstitious beliefs and customs in regard to animals and plants, which are independent of totemism. It is in no way peculiar to the Gonds only. Such beliefs and practices obtain even among other totemic tribes inhabiting different parts of the world.⁶⁰

The sacredness attached to the Saj tree, the abode of the Great God 'Bāḍa Deo', by all the Gonds the belief that a woman get an offspring by embracing this tree at night in nudity, the help the wizard or sorcerer believe they get from the Saj leaves in their magical rites, and many other beliefs and superstitions connected with this tree have no connection with totemism; nor is the Saj tree a totem among the Gonds. So also the origin of the practice of offering apology to a tree before climbing it and of the unwillingness to cut any tree or leaves thereof at night, is to be sought in their belief in the existence of the spirit.

Even some of the beliefs and practices of these people in regard to their totem trees are not totemic. The 'Mahua', 'Jamun', 'Salai' and 'Teak' trees are no doubt Gond totems but the superstitions attached to these trees are not limited only to the clans deriving their names from these trees. The Mahua tree is held sacred and it plays a prominent part in the marriage rituals of the Gonds. The

⁶⁰ 'The Cherokee have many superstitious beliefs and customs in regard to animals and plants which are independent of totemism' (Frazer, Vol. III, P. 186.)

Mahua pole is indispensable in a Gond marriage ceremony in which the couple is made to walk seven times round the pole, the ceremony known as 'BHANWAR.' In some localities a person before his or her marriage is first married to the Mahua tree⁶¹; this is doubtless because of their belief in the fertilising effects of the tree. The 'Salai' pole is also required for the marriage booth and also sometimes for the 'BHANWAR' or 'BHAURA' ceremony. In some localities a Jamun pole is used for the 'Bhanwar' in the marriage ceremony of those who get children before they are wedded.⁶²

All these superstitious beliefs and practices (instances of which might be multiplied indefinitely) though entertained by the Gonds in regard to the trees some of which are their totems, are to be carefully distinguished from real totemic beliefs and superstitions. Totemism, as pointed out before, 'is only one of the multitudinous forms in which such superstitions have crystallized. It is indeed a common crystal, but there are many others of diverse shapes and colours.' I have emphasised 'the distinction, because there is common tendency to confound sacred animals and plants with totems.'

Section V. RECAPITULATION.

Let us now recapitulate what has been observed so far in regard to the Gond beliefs and customs connected with their totems and compare them

⁶¹ H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I P. 293.

⁶² In Khairagarh State,

with the beliefs and customs connected with totemism in the aboriginal tribes of Australia and some other parts of the world.

The Gonds at present do not regard themselves as actually descended from their totems though the majority of the clans are totemic in name. They however possess some legends probably indicative of such a belief which has now disappeared from among them. That the Gonds—at least those inhabiting the Chhattisgarh country—till recently believed in their descent from their totems is suggested in the following account of Gond totemism in the Raipur district:—

"The septs are generally named after plants or animals and the Gonds think that they are descended from the sept totem, as the plants or animal is designated in ethnographic phraseology. Thus members of the Taram 'Got' or 'Padi' as it is known in Chhattisgarh think that they are descended from a horse and worship the horse. They will not abuse the animal, when working it as they will a bullock."⁶³

This belief in the descent of man from his totem which might once have prevailed among the Gonds would be similar to that which prevails in some of the aboriginal tribes of Australia, North America and other parts of the world.⁶⁴ The Gond tribes in some loca-

⁶³ *Raipur District Gazetteer*, (1909), P. 106.

⁶⁴ Some of the clans of Western Australia believe themselves descended from ducks, swans, and other water-fowls. In North America the Turtle, Bear and Wolf clans of the Iroquois believe themselves actually descended from a fat turtle, bear and wolf respectively. So also the Cry-Fish clan of the Choctaws, the Carb clan of Outaouaks, the Crane clan of Ojibways and many other clans believe in their descent from their totems. (See Frazer, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 5-7).

lities explain the origin of their clan totems by the legends that the animals or plants which are reckoned as their totems were serviceable to their ancestors in some way or other.

The attitude of the Gonds towards their totems as kinsfolk is implicit in their totemic belief, though we get only two instances of clans mourning for the death of their totems. These are the 'Bāg' clan in Jashpur and 'Parteti' clan in Mandla. The customs followed by these clans are isolated survivals of once prevailing customs according to which the dead totems were mourned for and perhaps even buried. This custom is similar to that found in Samoa Island, among the Owl clan.⁶⁵

Some of the Gonds retain their faith in totemism in a modified form and show respect to their totems by either abstaining from injuring, cutting, killing or eating them, even if they were edible animals or plants, or by some other ways. But the respect they show to their totems is not because they believe themselves descended from and therefore akin to their totems. They observe totem taboos either because their totems are held in superstitious awe or because they believe that some incident connected with the totems occurred to their ancestors or priests while they were worshiping their gods. Some revere the totems as they are to them more or less totem gods.

⁶⁵ "In Samoa if a man of the Owl clan found a dead totem by the road side, he would sit down and weep over it and beat his forehead till the blood flowed. The bird would then be wrapped up and buried with as much ceremony as if it has been a human being." (Turner, *Samoa*, P. 21, Frazer, *Op. Cit.*, Vol. I, P. 15).

Traces of the earlier phase of totemism also survive among these people. The present worship of the Nāg Deo (the Cobra god) may have evolved out of the custom of ceremonially eating the totem, such as prevailed in some totemic societies, among whom it was the bounden duty of a man to eat his totem in order to identify himself physically with it. The practice of eating the flesh of relatives among the Gond tribes of the Amarkantak hills, reported by Lt. Prendergast, might have been an isolated survival of the practice once common in this totemic society.

It is impossible to find many traces of this phase of totemism among people who passed the totemic stage in the remote past. Even among the Australian aborigines this custom has been completely abandoned by the more advanced tribes near to the sea.⁶⁶ The Gonds as compared with the Australian aborigines being more advanced cannot be expected to retain any practice indicative of this phase of totemism even if they ever passed through it. Even the worship of the Nāg Deo has now assumed a religious aspect, the Gonds thus retaining their original belief in a modified form.

Totemism has also exercised its influence on the growth of religion among the Gonds, but the influence could not be considerable. The reason is that the natural evolution of totemism into totemic religion was checked and obscured in large measure by their contact with non-totemic civilized people. Some of the totems have, no doubt, evolved into totein gods and anthromorphic deities. But

⁶⁶ Frazer, *Opt. Cit.*, Vol. IV, P. 7 (Vol. I Pp. 237 Sq.)

this evolution is nothing as compared to what it might have been, had the natural development continued unchecked. In the case of Australian aborigines who are supposed to possess totemism in its oldest and purest form, the process of evolution of totemism into religion is cut short at the first stage of transformation by the advent of the Whites with the result that the tendency towards totemic religion remains abortive.⁶⁷ Had Gond totemism developed in an atmosphere conducive to its natural growth, the stage of the totemic religion in process of evolution might perhaps have been that which we find in Samoa in Polynesia, where gods embodied in the shape of animals, plants and other species of natural objects are on the point of sloughing off their old shapes and developing into anthromorphic deities.⁶⁸

The Gonds seem to have come in contact with civilized people at the stage when their totems were just developing into the totem gods. The stories devised by some of the clans in support of their practice of holding their totems sacred and of observing taboos in respect thereof, seem to be reminiscent of such a stage. The advance towards civilization not being uniform everywhere some totems evolved into anthromorphic deities with totem symbols.

To conclude, Gond society, considered from the anthropological point of view, is no longer totemic. It however retains unmistakable traces of its totemic

**Gond Society Is
not totemic now.**

⁶⁷ Frazer, *Opt. Cit.*, Vol. IV, P. 27.

⁶⁸ Frazer, *Opt. Cit.*, Vol. IV, P. 30.

character. The three characteristic institutions of totemic society of which aboriginal Australian society may be taken as a type are totemism, democracy and magic.⁶⁹ The Gonds might once have exhibited all these characteristic institutions in their primitive stage; if so, their original nature has been since considerably changed. The surviving beliefs and customs connected with the totems unmistakably point to a past in which the institution of totemism prevailed extensively among the Gonds.

The other two institutions, too, do not exist among them in pure forms. The history of primitive society shows that 'totemism flourishes best in the democratic communities, where the attitude of men to their totems reflects that of men to their fellows.' The political power that arose among the Gonds developed into despotic monarchy. The analysis of Gond religion reveals the fact that in the beginning magic dominated it. Even now magic—both sympathetic and contagious—plays a considerable part in the life of the Gonds.

The above three institutions characteristic of a totemic society are very intimately related. Gond society advanced simultaneously from democracy and the dominance of magic towards despotism and preoccupation with religion, and just in proportion as despotism and religion waxed so totemism waned.

⁶⁹ Frazer, *Opt. Cit.* Vol. IV, P. 28.

MISCELLANEOUS CONTRIBUTION.

THE "ASUR" TRIBE OF CHOTA-NAGPUR: "BLACKSMITHS AND DEVILS IN INDIA."*

By

Prof. DR. WALTER RUBEN.

During my stay in India in 1936—37 I devoted some time to the study of the primitive tribes in Chōṭā Nāgpur. I visited especially some villages of the Asur, a tribe of very primitive blacksmiths on the hills of the borderland of Ranchi, Jashpur and Palamau. Their neighbours, the higher civilized Mūṇḍā and Orāoñ are feeling a deep hatred against these poor fellows and are telling a story how God destroyed these Asurs by burning them in their own furnaces. According to these neighbours the Asur-blacksmiths are (or were) a kind of devils, just like the Asuras in Hindu mythology. The Asurs themselves formerly told Driver (*J.A.S.B.* LVII, I, 1888) that they were burnt by God in a stronghold. With this story we may compare the famous *Tripura-daha*: Siva burned to ashes the metallic (!) strongholds of the Asuras by the fire of his third eye. This myth has been located at Tewar, not far from Jubbulpore on the Narbada where there is the western border of the Chota Nagpur-hills. Near Jubbulpore you find even to-day the *Agarias*, a tribe of blacksmiths closely related to the Asurs in language and culture. Therefore there is some

* *Eisenschmiede und Damonen in Indien. Supplement to "Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie," XXXVII, Leiden, Holland,*, 1939.

reason to believe that the *Tripura-Asuras* are mythologized primitives, the ancestors of the Asurs of to-day.

On the Narbadā was also the place of Mahis-matī. In the C. P. even to-day people worship *Mahisa* as a god of the fields, and many totemistic clans of the *Gonds* etc. are *buffalo-clans*. From the Mandar hill in Bengal (now administratively included in Bihār) came Durga to these hills along the Narbadā to kill *Mahiāsura*. On the way between she fought against *Chāṇḍa* and *Munda* near Bhabua where we find the beautiful temple of *Mundesvāri*. Siva and Durga are the gods of the peasants in the Ganges valley; the tribes in the southern hills were since millenniums the enemies of these peasants and their gods. This is the historical-geographical foundation of these grand myths.

From Tewar, the capital of Chedi, came the Brīhadratha-kings of Magadha. But the greatest Magadha-king was Jarāsandha whose house-goddess was the *rāksasī Jarā* (that means: he was a worshiper of Asuras!). His fight against Kṛiṣṇa and Mathura is surely a historical fact. His town was Girivraja, the Indian "Troy"! The 30-miles-long cyclopean stonewalls of this town are yet existing. They are one of the most impressive monuments, a quite unique ruin, the important point of connection between archaeology and epic literature! India is waiting for the man who will excavate this place!

In a book (*Eisenschmiede und Damonen in Indien. Supplement to "Internationales Archiv fur Ethnographie"* XXXVII, Leiden, Holland 1939) on "Blacksmiths and Devils in India" I have published materials of this kind. In its first chapter I described the living Asurs, their labour, their life, their festivals, traditions etc. Then I discussed the place of these Asurs among the different strata of primitive cultures in Chota Nagpur. The Kolarians are no cultural unit. The *Birhors, Kharias, Munda, Uraon etc.* so vividly described by S. C. Roy are representing quite different types of cultures: hunters, cultivators of the dry hills, cultivators of the watered fields in the valleys using a hoe, others using a plough, etc. So we may see the whole evolution of mankind represented in different tribes of Chota Nagpur. There we find among others the Goalas a caste of herdsmen, living only on cattle without any cultivation of soil; this is the same status as the Gokula in the time of Krishna! For every anthropologist it is of greatest importance to study these herdsmen and the testimony of the fully describing Krishna texts.

With these different ethnological strata we may combine prehistoric data. It is as a matter of fact proved by the former Austrian Prof. Heine Geldern that there are no megalithic tombs in India older than the iron-age, and in Chota Nagpur the old megalithic tombs nowadays are ascribed to the Asurs. The iron-age in India began a bit later than the Aryan invasion. This is one of the more fixed points of Indian prehistory. Another one is the connection between the Mundas and the "shouldered" stone axes. A third one is, that there were at least two copper-cultures in India: that of the Aryas and that of the Indus culture. Bricks, stone-beads and copper of the Indus culture were spread widely eastwards over India. A fourth important

strata seems to be that of primitive hunters (probably similar to the *Birhors*, *Baigas*, *Vedda etc.*) who produced the small stone-implements (micro-liths) and the oldest of the rockpaintings found abundantly along the Narbadā etc. The second chapter of my book I have devoted to such an attempt to combine prehistory, archaeology and social anthropology.

In the third chapter I have tried to describe in a geographical way the gods Siva, Durgā and Visṇu. I believe that most of their myths are not introduced into India by the Indo-European invaders. They are far older and autochthonous in India. In all of them we may find very old ideas belonging to the religion of prehistoric tribes. The importance of Indo-European influence on Indian cultural history is mostly exaggerated. The belief in stone gods (*Mahādevs*) in nearly every Indian village, and the belief in the Sungod in Chotā Nāgpur are the two "factors" of Hinduism. Siva is the god of the peasants who in prehistoric times came from the west (with wheat and cows, as in Mohenjo Daro) and from the east (with rice and buffalos as in Further India). But Visṇu is the hero-god, the protector, the sun-god of all the hunters, herdsmen and fighting tribes who come from the northwest; only one of these waves of invaders were the Indo-Europeans. Originally there was not only one Siva or one Visṇu, but all the numerous village-gods became a Mahadev and all the protecting, fighting sun-gods became a Visṇu. The history of Hindu-religion has to disentangle

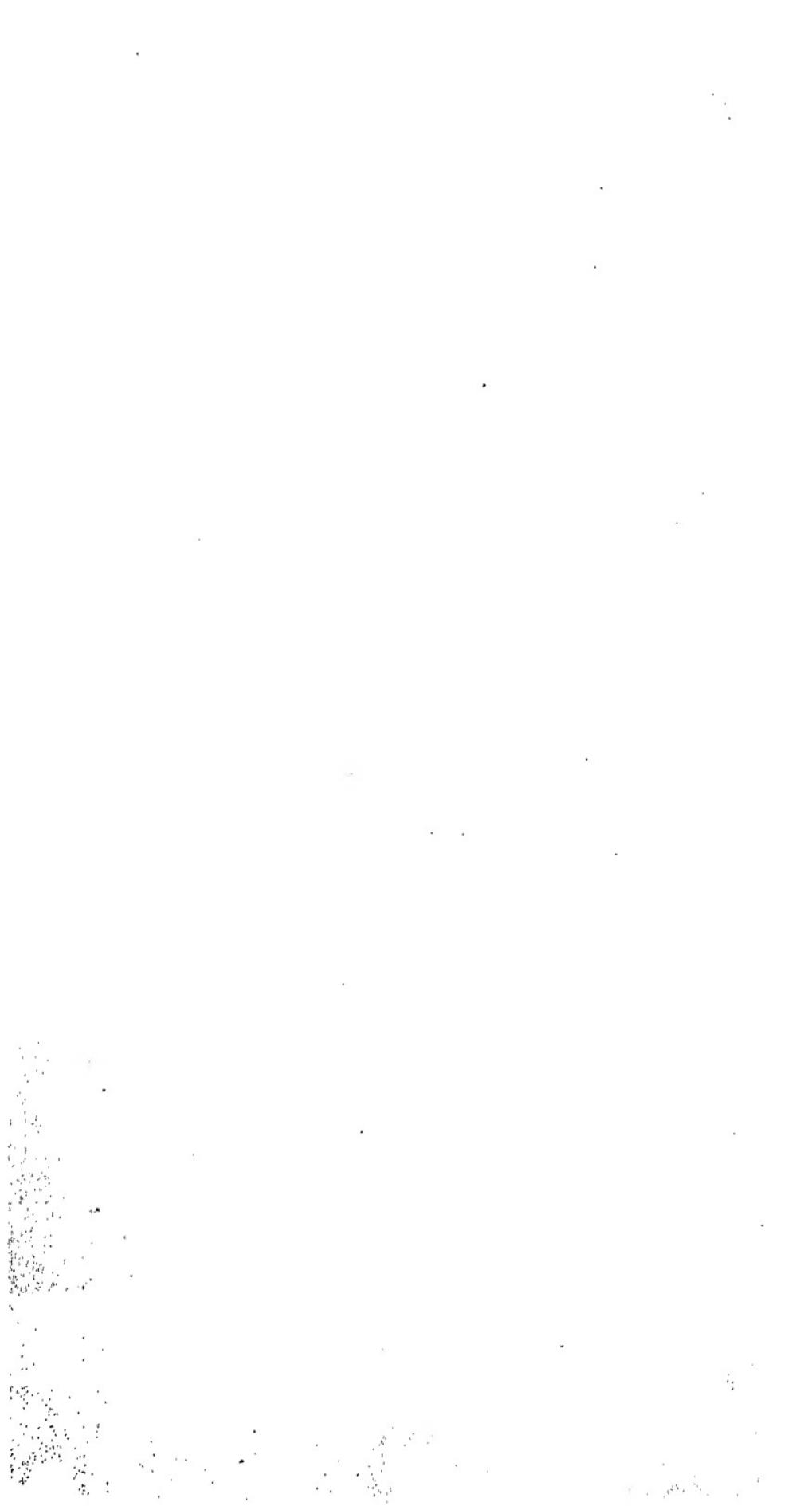
these complex gods. The god of Chidambaram was originally another one than the Kailāsānātha, the Kedārānātha, the Viśvanātha, the Bhairava etc. And the god of the Pushkara-lake was not the same as the Rāma, Kṛishna, Jagannātha of Puri, Viṭhoba etc. Therefore I have tried a geographical distribution of the most important myths of the gods. As regards every single one we have to ask if there is any connection between the myth and the Rigveda—and we find very few!

Thus it is possible and necessary to combine the history of Hindu mythology with social anthropology and prehistory. Only in this way we shall find the real foundations of Indian culture. I hope that this way will prove successful in future.

I am deeply indebted to the Turkish government for giving me the opportunity to visit India, and to the ethnologist S. C. Roy for helping me in visiting the Asurs.

Ankara, 22. XI. 1939.

N.B.—Owing to unforeseen circumstances the publication of the '*Notes*' and *Notices of Books*' have been unavoidably omitted from this number. For this the Editor apologizes to the readers. These will be published along with the '*Notes*' of the Next Quarter and '*Notices of Books*' in the next issue of the Journal. *Editor.*



"A book that is shut is but a block"

CENTRAL ARCHAEOLOGICAL LIBRARY
GOVT OF INDIA
Department of Archaeology
NEW DELHI.

Please help us to keep the book
clean and moving.